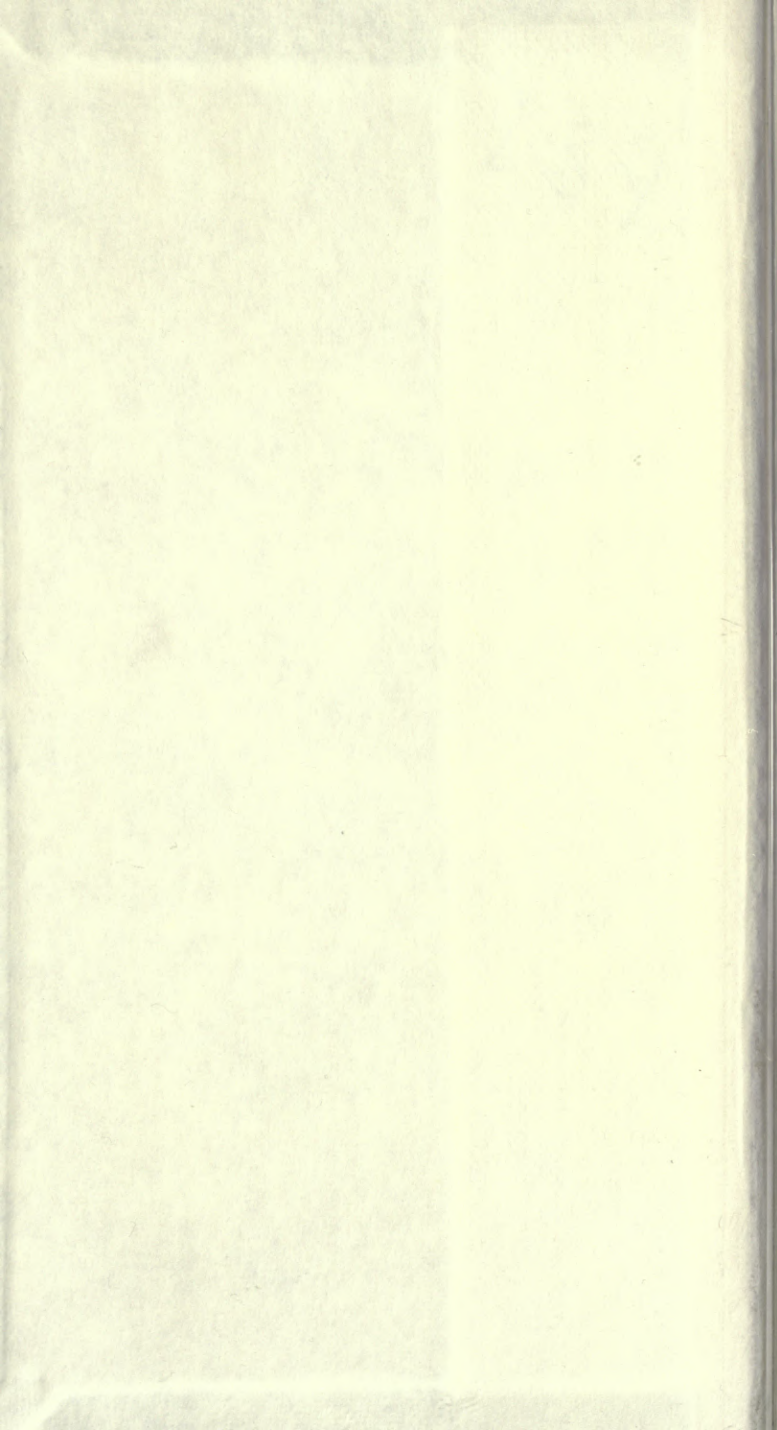
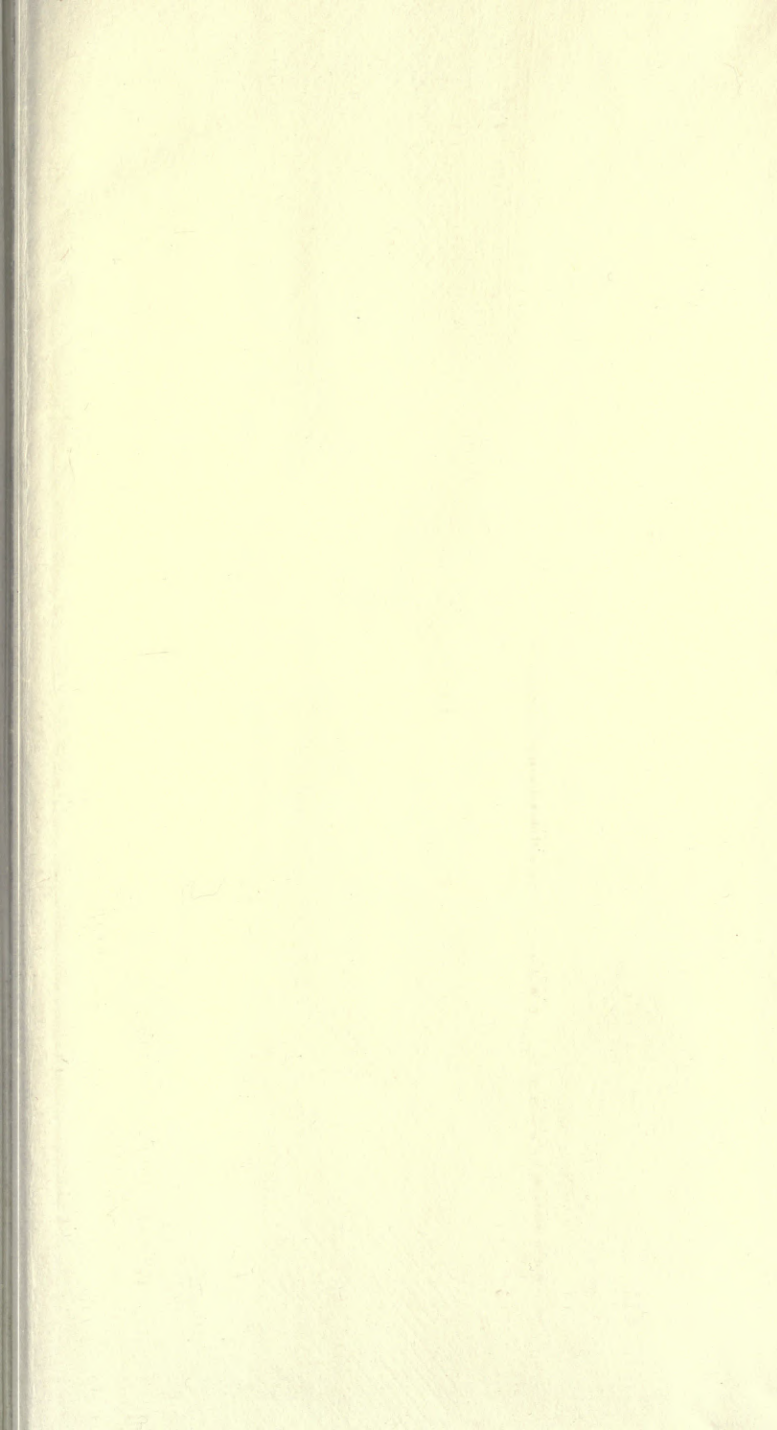


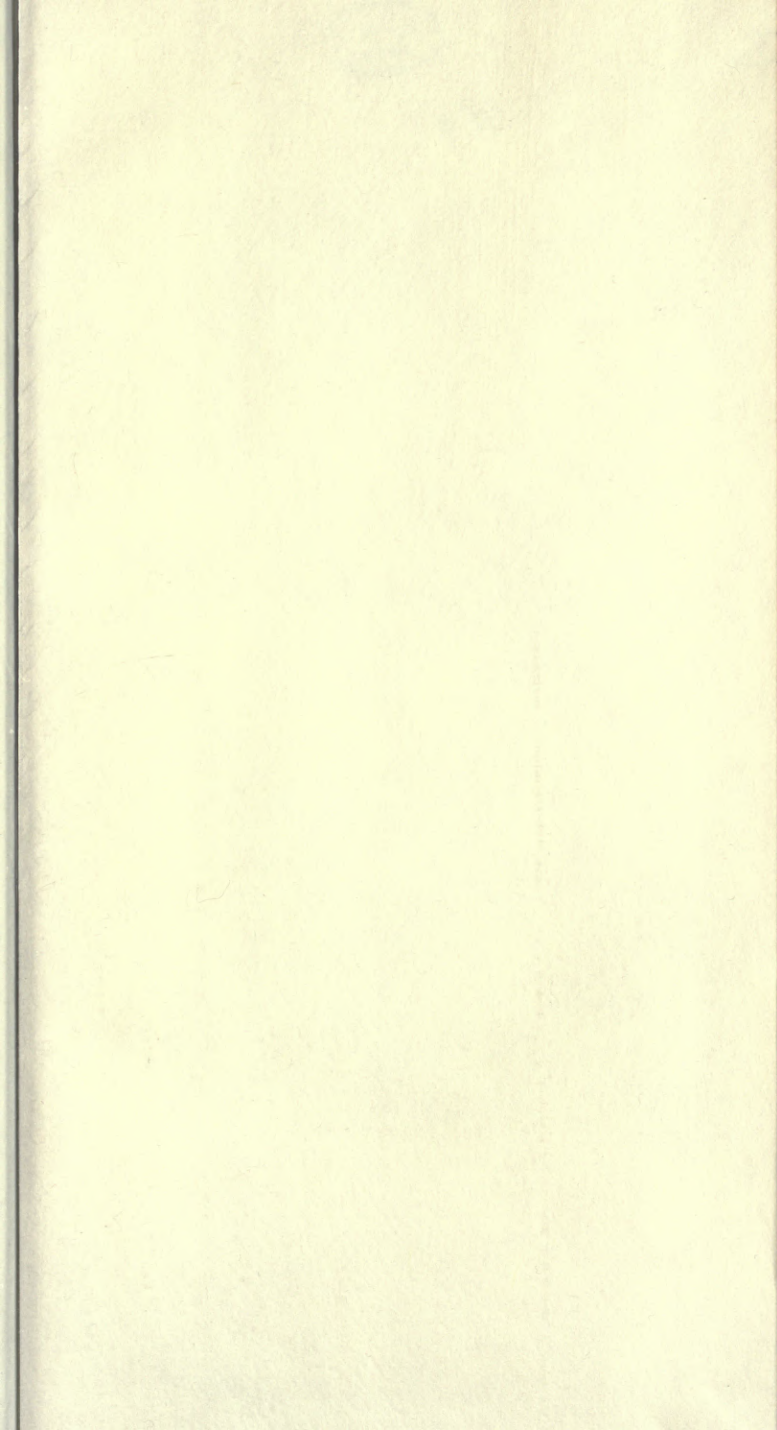


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THE
ANTIQUARY'S PORTFOLIO,
OR
CABINET SELECTION
OF
HISTORICAL & LITERARY CURIOSITIES,

ON SUBJECTS PRINCIPALLY CONNECTED WITH

THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND MORALS; CIVIL, MILITARY, AND
ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT, &c. &c.

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE MIDDLE AND LATTER AGES.

(WITH NOTES.)

BY J. S. FORSYTH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

— We may correct, erroneous oft,
The clock of history, facts and events
Timing more punctual, unrecorded facts
Recovering, and mis-stated setting right.

COWPER to Yardley Oak.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

IN the following pages, it is presumed, the lover of antiquities will not only be gratified with some very curious and interesting particulars of the customs and manners of our ancestors, at different periods of English history ; but the philosopher will meet with entertainment of a nobler kind, by being enabled to contrast the deplorable state of the human mind at remote periods, with the present happy triumph of unfettered reason, and of a religion that is comparatively pure

and perfect. Should the reader, therefore, of what class soever he may be, derive either information or entertainment, to enlighten or amuse,—the anticipations of the author will be realized; and, at all events, it is hoped, in proportion to the gratification, in any shape, the variety and authenticity of the materials it may be capable of affording to the inquisitive and general observer of memorable times and events.

J. S. F.

LONDON, *Sept.* 1825.

INTRODUCTION.

THE oldest College of Antiquaries on record was that erected in Ireland by Ollamh Tedlah, 700 years before Christ, instituted for the purpose of composing a history of the country; and to this, say the Irish historians, it is owing that the history and antiquities of Ireland may be traced back beyond those of most other nations. Foundations of this kind have often been wished for, and often attempted in England.

Antiquarian learning was diligently cultivated during the reign of Elizabeth. Several of our greatest historical writers deserve to be particularly noticed as antiquaries. Batheville has had great applauses bestowed upon him in this view; and Twyne is entitled to equal praises. As to Humphrey Llwyd, it is well known that he sustained an eminent rank in the same department of literature: his researches were deep and curious, and his writings are still consulted by those who devote themselves to the study of antiquities.

The chief work of John Stow, who is usually described as an antiquary, although he deserves also to be honourably mentioned as a historian, was his 'Survey of London,'

which has passed through many editions, and in the last century was republished with great advantages by Strype. On this work have been founded all subsequent histories of London; and, whatever commendations they may claim from their additions and improvements, a large portion of merit will still belong to Stow.

Archbishop Parker must not here be forgotten, who was not only a zealous and liberal encourager of antiquarian pursuits, but an excellent antiquary himself. Of this he exhibited ample proofs in his Treatise concerning the Antiquity of the English Church, and in his edition of four of our best old historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Asserius, and Thomas Walsingham. Sir Henry Saville exerted himself in the same walk, in his publication of several of the principal writers of English affairs after Bede.

In 1590, a Society of Antiquaries was formed, which subsisted to the year 1614, when it was dissolved by the despotic jealousy of King James I.* Its peculiar object was to illustrate whatever related to the history, laws, public offices, judicial courts, and customs of our country; and

* Sir H. Spelman speaks of this Society of Antiquaries in his time, to whom his Treatise of the Times, written in 1614, was communicated, he himself being one of the number.

The Society was formed by Cambden, Sir Robert Cotton, and others. In 1589, R. Carew was admitted into it. Application was made for a charter and house to Queen Elizabeth, wherein they might hold their meetings, erect a library, &c. But, by the death of that princess, their application proved abortive. And for her successor, King James I., he was far from favouring the design.—Vide Nicholson's History of England, lib. P. 3, c. 3, p. 199, et seq.—Smith, Vit. Cotton.—Maub. Let. de la Gr. Bret. t. xiii. p. 243, et seq.

the members of it were most of them eminently qualified for the undertaking. Their discoveries are in general learned, judicious, and instructive; and, at the same time, they have the quality of being very concise. The writers of them chiefly confined themselves to a simple representation of facts; and they seem to have known nothing of the art of spreading a small quantity of matter into a large space.

Some persons who were ornaments of this society, and particularly Sir Robert Cotton, Sir John Doddridge, and Selden, properly belong to the next reign.

We hear no more of this excellent institution till the year 1717, when the Society was revived by a select number of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and other learned and ingenious men, whose business is to discover the antiquities of our own, as well as of other nations. There has been no further interruption since its revival; and it now flourishes under favour of a Royal charter, dated November 2, 1751, by which the number of its members is limited to one hundred and fifty.

The most illustrious names that fall under our present survey are those of Agard and Cambden, who were antiquaries of the first distinction. Arthur Agard's Essays on various curious subjects shew, that, in English antiquities, he had few equals, and scarcely any superiors.

It was in the period we are treating of that Cambden published the first edition of his *Britannica*, the merit of which is universally known, and has again been testified by successive publications. The popularity of the work has not diminished; and learned men have esteemed it an honour to have their names associated with that of Cambden.

That the study of antiquities was pursued with much ardour and success by several very distinguished characters

in the reign of Charles I. the names of Dugdale and Selden, of Spelman and Cotton, will sufficiently evince. A list of learned productions of Dugdale would exceed the bounds which we must necessarily prescribe to ourselves on this occasion. We shall therefore confine ourselves to noticing his principal work, 'The Antiquities of Warwickshire illustrated,' the accomplishment of which employed the whole leisure time of its author during twenty years.

The profound learning of Selden, his extensive erudition, and his prodigious abilities, justly entitle him to the appellation conferred upon him by Grotius, 'The glory of the English nation !' His style has, however, been generally censured as harsh, and his arrangement as perplexed.

Spelman, in his pursuits of antiquities, observing the great necessity for a knowledge of the Saxon tongue, not only made himself master of that language, but founded a Saxon lecture in the University of Cambridge. His researches were very extensive, and at this hour are deservedly esteemed. The gratitude of posterity still more is due to him, for the noble library he left for their use, and to which his son and grandson afterwards added, than for his valuable writings. This invaluable collection of MSS. relates principally to the history and antiquity of Great Britain and Ireland.

The time in which Sir Robert Cotton lived, was peculiarly favourable to such a collection. The monasteries had been recently destroyed, and several learned antiquarians had died still more recently, who had assiduously collected the books taken from the monasterial libraries, and from the universities at their visitation.

To this celebrated person we may add Sir Simon D'Eves, who composed a very laborious work illustrative of the most distinguished English reign, 'The Journals of all

the Parliaments during the reign of Elizabeth;’ Sir John Markham, whose elaborate work threw considerable light upon the Egyptian antiquities; and Sir James Ware, who composed several works upon the history and antiquities of Ireland.

The learned Pococke was one of the ornaments of this memorable period, though many of his works appeared at a much later time. Besides his other accomplishments, he was ‘profoundly skilled in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic tongues, was well acquainted with the Persic, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Turkish; not unacquainted with the Italian and Spanish, and in Greek and Latin critically conversant. Among other literary labours in which he was engaged, he was one of those concerned in preparing an intended edition of the Polyglot Bible. He wrote commentaries on some of the books of the Prophecies; and such was his reputation in oriental and biblical learning, that he was consulted upon those subjects by the most accomplished scholars in Europe.’

Usher, the respectable primate of Ireland, published several learned and useful works, but the greater number of his publications related to antiquities, the clearing up of which he has made subservient to ecclesiastical purposes, and to the reconciling disaffected persons to the established church.

Greaves, the friend of Spelman, was also learned in the oriental languages, and accomplished in mathematics, astronomy, and the knowledge of antiquities.

The Hebrew language was diligently cultivated by Lightfoot, afterwards Vice-chancellor of Cambridge; but his

* Kenned. Chron. Disert. ap. mem. de Trev. 1705, page 1873, et seq.—Nicholson’s Irish History, lib. App. No. I. p. 179, et seq.

most important works more properly belong to a later period. Sir Charles Roe, ambassador to the Great Mogul, and to the Ottoman Porte, added several valuable Greek Oriental MSS. to the Bodleian Library, and brought over the fine Alexandrian MS. of the Greek Testament, presented by Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I.

To the preceding names, or persons eminent in the study of antiquities, we may add those of Leland and Fuller, who lived during the commonwealth and usurpation of Cromwell. The former of these has been styled the father of English antiquaries; but we think that title more applicable to Llwyd, whom we have formerly mentioned. His 'Itinerary' is, however, a most elaborate and most useful work; and beside this, he published a number of tracts, on the local antiquities of this country.

Fuller, perhaps, is better known as a historian and biographer than as an antiquary; yet a considerable portion of his 'Worthies' comes properly under the latter description, as well as his History of Waltham Abbey, and of the University of Cambridge. He was a man who abounded in wit, as every person must perceive who looks casually into his Church History; and his memory was so retentive, that the facts which are related of him in this respect, almost exceed belief.

Having simply alluded to some of our older antiquaries, with regard to those of a later date, who have trodden in the same paths, their works are the best testimonies of their merits; and it would appear uncharitable to make distinctions where criticism is not called for. The various departments of antiquarian research, afford ample materials for the industrious and inquisitive mind; although it must be acknowledged, that it is next to an impossibility for the

antiquary, however zealous and enthusiastic he may be, to rescue every thing deserving of notice from oblivion. The havoc which ignorance or contempt for the antiquities of this country made, at different times, among the fine specimens of architecture and sculpture, as well as among more perishable materials, is therefore less pardonable*.

Among AUTHORS QUOTED, and WORKS EXTRACTED from, in the following pages, are

ACCOUNTS (ancient Parish) found at Blythburgh, Suffolk.	Carew's Account of Cornwall.
Agard, Arthur.	Caxton's additions to the Polychronicon.
Aikin.	Chaucer's Prologues.
Anderson.	Chron. Pret.
Andrews.	Collins' Diary.
Anglia Sacra.	——— Peerage.
Ano. Reg. Joh.	Cotton's Records.
Asser. Vita Alfredi.	Curiosities of Literature.
Atkyns.	
BAKER's Hist. & Antiquities, &c.	D'EYES, Sir Simon.
Barclay's Eclogues.	Doddridge's English Lawyer.
Baronius.	———, Sir John.
Barrington on the Statutes.	Du Cange's Glossary.
Bath. Leg. Canut.	Dugdale.
Bede.	
Bigland's Observations on Parochial Registers.	EALMER, Hist. Nover.
Biographia Britannica.	Elmes' Life of Wren.
Blackstone's Commentaries.	Enquiry into the Origin of Festivals, by the Rev. Mr. Whitaker.
Book of Sports, as set forth by Charles I.	Evelyn's Journal.
British Bibliography.	
Brumpton, Benedict. Abbas.	FELTHAM's Tour.
Buchanan's History of Scotland.	Forest Charter of An. 42 Hen. III.
	Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.
	Fountainhall's (Lord) Diary.
CAMBDEN's Britannica.	Fox.

* In Blomefield's Norfolk, (vol. viii. p. 501,) we are informed, that a man was paid five shillings for defacing superstitious epitaphs. To this we may add, that within a little time, part of the fine monumental brass of *Robert Braunche*, between his two wives, in the church of St. Margaret, at Lynn, was lately sold by a woman for five shillings, and consigned to the melting pot. Another beautiful brass, image in the same church, over Attelath, is entirely destroyed. The fine brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, at Elsing, in Norfolk, has experienced similar mutilations, and exhibits now very small remains of its original beauty.

- Freind, G. de Gauliaco, apud.
 Froissart.
 Fuller's Worthies.
- GAGE's Antiquities of Hengrave.
 Gale's MS. English-Saxon Customs.
 Greaves.
- HALL.
 Hatton's New View of London.
 Henry of Huntingdon.
 — from Ingulphus.
 — from the Statutes.
 Henry's History of Great Britain.
 Herbert.
 Hist. El. apud Gale.
 Hist. Litteraire de la France.
 History of the Civil Wars.
 — Common Law.
 Holinshed.
 Household of Henry VIII.
 Howel.
 Huke's (Dr.) Dissert. Epist.
 Hutchinson's Hist. Cumberland.
- KAIMES' (Lord) History of Man.
 Keyler. Ant. Sept. Bede.
 Knighton apud Henry.
- LAMBARDE on the Laws of the
 Ancient English.
 Leland, Bale, &c. apud Henry.
 Lib. Rub. Scacc.
 Lindsay of Pitscottie.
 Literary Gazette.
 Liwyd, Humphrey.
- MADDOX, Form. Angl.
 Math. Paris. Vit. Abb.
 Mathew of Westminster.
 Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq.
 Mezeroy.
 Monstellet. Villaret.
 More's Life of Sir Thomas More.
 Moser's Moral and Philosophical
 View of the Metropolis, &c.
 MS. apud Eltam.
 — Letters of King James II.
 Muratori.
- NORTHUMBERLAND Household-
 Book.
- Notes (Chronological) of Scottish
 Affairs.
- OLOF DELIN's New History of
 Sweden.
 Original Records, &c.
 Orkney and Zealand, Notes of.
- PARLIAMENTARY History.
 — Catalogue, ancient.
 Parker, Archbishop.
 Paul Hentzner.
 Peck's Desiderata Curiosa.
 Pennant.
 Pococke.
 Polycraticon of John of Salisbury.
 Prynne.
 Public Acts.
- RECORD Commission Report.
 Rot. Pep. apud Warton.
 Rymer's Fœdera.
- SELDEN.
 Shrawardine Parish Register.
 Specimens of Welsh Poetry.
 Speed.
 Spelman's Glossary.
 Spottiswood.
 Squires.
 St. Palaye sur la Chevalerie.
 Stow's Survey, &c.
 Strutt, from Langton and Peck-
 ham's Constitutions.
 — from Anc. Painting.
 — Regal Antiquities.
- TRANSACTIONS of the Royal Irish
 Academy.
 Trussel, &c.
- USHER.
- VELLEY's New History of France.
 Veitch and Brysson's Memoirs.
 Vita Welfredi.
- WALPOLE's Anecdotes.
 — Miscel. Antiquities.
 Walsingham, Thomas.
 Ware, Sir James.
 Warton's History of Poetry.
 Wilkins.
 William of Malmsbury, &c. &c.

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THE
Antiquary's Portfolio, &c.

LIFE OF JOHN STOW,

HISTORIAN AND ANTIQUARY OF LONDON.

JOHN STOW, the elaborate and ingenious author of the ANNALS OF ENGLAND and the SURVEY OF LONDON, was "born," as it has been ludicrously said, "within the sound of *Bow Bell*," namely, in the parish of *St. Michael, Cornhill*, about the year 1525, the 17th of Henry VIII.: his father was *Thomas Stow*: he was by trade a Woollen Draper and Taylor, and lived within a few doors of the parish church of *St. Michael, Cornhill*, which was the street wherein the drapers and tailors (for in former times these trades were connected) resided*. But although he had a shop, or, as it has been termed, a *shed*, in which he carried on his business in *Cornhill*†, yet he was a man of some de-

* These shopkeepers not only sold cloth by the piece, as merchants, or by the pattern, for a garment, as drapers, to their country customers, many of whom, probably, employed itinerant tailors to work at their own houses, as was, even in the last century, the custom, but measured, cut out, and made at home, clothes fit for wearing. Hence they were termed *merchant tailors*.

† *Shed* was the appropriate term, because goods were therein exposed for sale on market-days.

gree of opulence, for he had a garden to retire to for his pleasure and diversion, situated, as a long range of gardens were, within the civic walls, in the ward of *Broad-street*, at the back of Throgmorton-street, and “near the spot whereupon Draper’s-hall* now standeth;” places to which our ancient writers are almost constantly alluding. What kind of education *John Stow* received, it is, except by his writings, in which very considerable learning, abstruse study, and occasionally deep erudition, are to be discovered, impossible now to ascertain. Elovanus, Archbishop of London, it is said, built the library that once belonged to the church of St. Peter Cornhill; but that this library continued to the time of *Stow*, is uncertain: however, whether it did or not, it is certain that he might have had access to that which belonged to the college and brotherhood of St. Michael, and that in his early years, situated as he was betwixt two fraternities, the peculiar office of the members of which was the instruction of youth, it was impossible that he should want the common advantages of education, which they so liberally dispensed to all whose *genius*, the energetic bias of whose minds, induced them to apply for instruc-

* Drapers’-hall was the mansion and town residence of that very extraordinary man, Thomas Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, K. G. Lord Chancellor, &c. when he was Sir Thomas Cromwell. Some of the scenes of the ancient drama of Thomas Lord Cromwell, which is not Shakspeare’s, were, in all probability, laid at this house.

tion. But although we have stated the father of our historian to have been possessed of a certain degree of opulence, he was too wise a man, lived in too industrious a neighbourhood, and knew too well the advantage of having a trade, for him to suffer his son to devote himself much to books, which at that time, on the eve of the Reformation, got into a kind of disrepute in the regions of traffic, as the promoters of idleness, and the repressors of that freedom of disquisition which was then in the course of operation: he accordingly, after employing him in his shop, and in such errands as boys of his age and station were usually employed in executing, bound him apprentice to himself; which, according to the period when the civic youths in those times were usually indentured, namely, 14 years of age, must have been about the year 1539.

John Stow, it appears, served the full term of his apprenticeship to his father, and, in due course, became, like him, free of the company of Merchant Taylors and Linen Armourers of London; but how long after he continued with him is uncertain. Thomas Stow died in the year 1559; but antecedent to that period, namely, in the 3d Edward VI. 1548, he, it is recorded, lived within Aldgate*:

* The site of this house, the residence of Stow, within Aldgate, is precisely marked out: it appears to have been one of those at the corners of Leadenhall and Fenchurch Streets, where the Pump now stands, from the circumstance of the execution (by martial law) of the bailiff of Romford, a man much esteemed by the people, at the

here he carried on his trade as a tailor for some time, and then removed into Lime-street Ward, and fixed his residence in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, where he continued during the remainder of his life.

The passion, or mental propension, of John Stow, was the study of English history: his life was spent in endeavouring to trace and to preserve the vestiges of antiquity,—to record the rise and progress of manners, customs, usages, &c.—and to drag from their dark recesses the fragments of former centuries. That he had at a very early age turned his mind to this course of study, is certain; and it is also as certain, that he had, when a very young man, become conspicuous for the ardour with which he collected, and the freedom with which he communicated. This his zeal was considered as so important, that Grindall*, bishop of London, who had been informed of it, wrote a letter to the

instance of Sir Stephen, the curate of St. Catherine Christ Church. The gibbet was erected over the well that now supplies the Pump. Sir Stephen absconded, and was never after heard of.

* EDMUND GRINDALL, who was called “the Protestant Bishop of London,” was born in the year 1519, at a small and obscure village near St. Bees, in Cumberland: he received his college education at Cambridge, where he became so eminent for his classical attainments, and more for his reformed principles, that Martin Bucer, professor of divinity at Cambridge, so strongly recommended him to Ridley, bishop of London, that he made him his chaplain, and procured him other preferments: these he held during the short reign of Edward VI. at whose death he, with many other Protestants, fled to Germany, where he made collections for Fox’s “Martyrology,” in which

Privy Council upon the subject, in which he likewise stated that a search for papistical books had, by his chaplain, been made in the house of "John Stow, the tailor*;" but with what success we are not informed.

work he greatly assisted the author. Indeed, some most prominent and horrid cases are printed from his private journal.

In the reign of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and was, on the deprivation of Bishop Bonner, nominated to the see of London: in 1570, he was translated to that of York; and ultimately, in 1575, to the archiepiscopality of Canterbury, upon the death of Archbishop Parker: this, after having, in consequence of the displeasure of the Queen, suffered a suspension, and been restored, he resigned, and, upon a pension, retired to Croydon; where, losing his sight, he died July 6, 1589, aged 63.

Bishop Grindall was a prelate of very considerable abilities. Born to stem the popular torrent in times of ecclesiastical turbulence, firmness and resolution, the prominent features of his mind became conspicuous. His zeal, in some things, it was said, sometimes outran his discretion: this, we think, was obvious, in his ordering the house of Stow to be rummaged for the sake of discovering a few *worm-eaten books*, supposed to have been written by Monks: yet in other instances, he relaxed too much. There was nothing that the sagacity of Elizabeth induced her so greatly to dread as the spread of Puritanism; she, therefore, commanded Bishop Grindall to suppress in the metropolis the public theological exercises, called "Prophecyings:" this he contumaciously refused, and thence ensued her displeasure. In private life, the bishop was a man of a mild and affable disposition, hospitable in his style of living, a kind master, a benignant patron, and a zealous friend, "*singular*," says Fuller, "for his learning and piety;" but we trust not so, because those acquirements and virtues were very generally dispersed among the prelacy of England.

* The trade of a *tailor* was formerly considered as effeminate, and, therefore, among the hardy sons of Britain, in ancient times, it very

The search of his house is said to have arisen from a false accusation by an ecclesiastic, probably frequently became a subject of ridicule; which waggish propension with respect to tailors has, indeed, descended to the modern: yet to wave a great part of what might be said of the antiquity and importance of the company of Merchant-Tailors, whose arms exhibit their various avocations of upholsterers, or tent-makers, robe-makers, &c. and impale the honourable badge of the British lion, and whose supporters indicate oriental conquest, we must still observe, that monarchs have condescended to become brethren of the fraternity of St. John Baptist, and numbers of the nobility have deemed it highly honourable to have their names enrolled in the records of this company. Nay, in times remote, they have been as celebrated for *arms* as in those more modern they have been for *literature*. Of those, the most conspicuous character was the heroic Sir John Hawkwood, whom Fuller quaintly calls *Joannes Acutus*, and with a coldness of conceit worthy of those pedantic times, says, he turned his *needle* into a *sword*, and his *thimble* into a *shield*. Hawkwood first served under Edward III. and, for the valour he exhibited, received from that monarch the honour of knighthood. Sir Ralph Blackwell (erroneously stated to have been the founder of Blackwell-hall) was another tailor, said to have been the fellow-apprentice of Hawkwood, and also to have been, for his valour, knighted by Edward III. In literature, we find of this profession John Speed, a native of Cheshire, whose merit as a historian and antiquary are indisputable. To these may be added the name of a man, who, in literature, ought to have taken the lead; we mean, John Stow, the subject of our present observations. Benjamin Robins, the compiler of Lord Anson's Voyage, who united the powers of the sword and the pen, was professionally a tailor of Bath; as was Robert Hill, of Buckingham, who, in the midst of poverty and distress, while obliged to labour at his trade for the support of a large family, acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew and other languages, such as has only been equalled by Magliabecchi, who studied in a *cradle*, curtained by *cobwebs*, and colonized by *spiders*! Magliabecchi, who is a most singular instance of learning and laziness, corporeal indolence and mental activity,

an adherent of Sir Stephen, whom we have mentioned in a preceding note. That person, who, though likewise "a parish priest," was not

"Of the pilgrim train,
An awful, reverend, and religious man*,"

had preached at Paul's Cross, in the 3d Edward VI. where he had levelled the artillery of his eloquence at the maypole, or shaft, at St. Andrew's church, which he declared to be an *idol*, and the sports of the people around it the *Devil's dance*; he wished also to *unsaint* the churches, and to change the *fish-days* into *festivals*. These doctrines and positions Stow, in his zeal for ancient customs and ancient rites, had reprobated: hence the charge of his being hostile to the Reformation was made against him; but the falsehood of the priest, who urged it, being at length discovered, he was tried in the Star-chamber for perjury; which being most clearly and satisfactorily proved, he was condemned to stand in and upon the pillory, which was then over the Tun, in Cornhill, and to have the initials F. A. "False Accuser," branded upon his cheek.

Stow, it appears, by his works, had, as we have stated, from a very early period of his life, been making his collections, as the objects from which

was librarian to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; he was skilled in eight different languages; and to a perception so acute, that to see was, in him, to *comprehend*, joined a memory equally retentive.

* Chaucer's Prologues to the "Canterbury Tales," Character of a good Parson, Dryden's version.

they emanated attracted his attention: he lived at a very peculiar time: during his adolescence, the Reformation had been effected; the face, therefore, of ecclesiastical objects, and their appendages, had been continually changing, nor were those changes unmarked by him. His library, therefore, even when it attracted the attention of Bishop Grindall, must have been large; yet it was not until, as he termed it, he was settled for life, that he began the great work of arrangement. In this pursuit, his historical researches took a more regular turn: eager in the chase, he threw the reins of his genius upon the neck of his *ruling passion*, which might have been well typified by the ideal image of an *impetuous courser*: while immersed in study, surrounded with his books, he neglected his domestic affairs, and, forgetting that excellent civic adage, "keep your shop, and your shop will keep you," suffered his business, as the vulgar phrase is, to stand "at sixes and sevens."

Having spent his patrimony, and the best part of his estate in pursuing his favourite studies and labours, he was forced, in the latter part of his life, to have a subscription made for his relief. And, for that purpose, King James I. granted him a license or brief, dated the 8th of May, 1603, which was renewed the 26th of November, 1604, authorizing him or his deputy, to repair to churches or other places, to receive the gratuities and charitable benevolence of well-disposed people; but if we

may judge from the collection made in one parish, (St. Mary Woolnoth,) which amounted to 7*s*. 6*d*. there appears to have been very little contributed towards his relief. Besides, he hardly lived long enough to see the collection completed. "It is strange," as Strype justly observes, "that the city of London, to which he had done such service and honour, in writing such an elaborate and accurate survey thereof; nor the wealthy company of Merchant-Tailors, of which he was a worthy and creditable member; nor, lastly, the state, in grateful remembrance of his diligent and faithful pains, in composing an excellent history of the kingdom; none of them had allotted him some honorary pension for life."

In addition to the poverty of Stow, he was much afflicted with pains in his feet, probably the gout, and also with the stone. Under all these adverse circumstances, and having attained the 80th year of his age, he departed this life, April 5, 1605, and was buried two days afterwards in his parish-church of St. Andrew Undershaft, where his widow erected a decent monument to his memory.

By Mr. Edmund Howes, who was perfectly acquainted with Stow, his person and character are described in the following words:—"He was tall of stature, leane of body and face, his eyes small and chrystaline, of a pleasant and cheerfull countenance, his sight very good, his memory excellent; very sober, mild, and courteous to any that

required his instruction; and retained the true use of all his senses until the day of his death. He always protested never to have written any thing either for malice, feare, or favour, nor to seek his own particular gaine, or vain glory, and that his only pains and care was to write truth." As a great lover of truth, so was he always inquisitive to find it out: and his good judgment, learning, and skill in history and antiquities, qualified and enabled him not to be put off with frauds and superstitious fables, commonly believed and related by men of less accuracy; as is plain from many instances in his writings.

"On all occasions Mr. Stow professed a great dislike for immorality of every kind, injustice, wrongs, frauds, unfaithfulness, falsehood, and treachery; which shewed an honest and good mind: and he spared not to expose the more scandalous sorts of men that fell in his way; as lewd and unclean priests, unfaithful executors, abusers of charitable donations, false jurymen, counterfeit physicians, and other cheats and impostors, extortioners and cruel oppressors, violators of the monuments of the dead, and exalters of themselves above their neighbours*."

With regard to his religion, Stow undoubtedly was at first a favourer as well as a professor of popery: but his words, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "that doctrine is more pure now, than

* Biograph. Britannica.

it was in the monkish world," imply that he had then altered his mind. Being a lover of antiquity, and admirer of the old religious buildings and monuments, he was perhaps prejudiced against the reformed religion, because of the terrible havoc and destruction those that pretended to it, made of them in his days; a circumstance, indeed, that might render him less affected to the religion in his time reformed, when he noticed how ignorantly, nay ridiculously, some that professed and preached it, shewed their zeal*. Upon the whole,

* Of this he gives us some instances in Sir Stephen, curate of St. Catherine Cree church parish, where Mr. Stow then lived. That curate, in a sermon at St. Paul's, inveighed severely against a long maypole, called a shaft, in the next parish to his, named thence St. Andrew *Undershaft*, calling it an *idol*; which so inflamed the zeal of many of the hearers, because all idols were ordered by public authority to be taken away, that a great number of the neighbours went the same afternoon, and violently pulled it down from the place where it hung upon hooks, and then sawed it into several pieces, of which each housekeeper taking a piece, as much as hung over his door and stall, and afterwards casting the pieces into one common heap, burnt them. Mr. Stow heard this sermon, and witnessed the effect of it. The same preacher, taking occasion from that church's name, *Undershaft*, as superstitiously given to it, declared it as his judgment, that the names of churches should be altered; nay, that the names of the days in the week might be changed, the fast-days to be kept on any days except Fridays and Saturdays: and farther, that Lent should be observed at any other time than between Shrove-tide and Easter. Another practice of this Sir Stephen was, oftentimes to forsake the pulpit, and getting up into a high elm that grew in the middle of the churchyard, to preach from thence to the people; and returning into the church, he would say or sing the English service, not at the altar, as was usual, but upon a tomb at

he appears throughout to have been an honest and well-meaning man; and his Chronicle, or Annals, as far as they go, are still the best and most exact extant.

CURIOUS PARTICULARS OF THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT ENGLISH.

Marriages among the Anglo-Saxons.

THE customs of the Anglo-Saxons (and indeed of all the northern nations,) have somewhat particularly worthy of notice in them, as far as relate to matrimony.

An unmarried woman was always supposed to have a *mund-bora* or guardian, or owner: the virgin belonged to her father, brother, uncle, or nearest male relation; the widow claimed the same protection of her dead husband's male relations: the lover was obliged to buy his mistress of her *mund-bora* by a *mede*, or gift, the amount of which was settled by a law, that set a higher price on the maid by one half, than on the relict. If the wooer unadvisedly married the lady without the *mund-bora*'s consent, her person and goods were still the property of her guardian; and an injury offered to her was to be atoned for, not to the spouse, but to the *mund-bora*. At the wedding*, the *mund-bora*

the north side of the church. Such were the irregular practices of the methodists or zealots of those times, which served only to expose the Reformation.

* The nuptial benediction was frequently given to the bride while

delivered up his ward to the spouse, a friend of whom had previously avowed himself the guarantee of a proper and steady provision for the bride, in case of her husband's death. At the feast which followed, the usual and large presents of gold, arms, clothes, household stuff, &c. made by the invited relations, formed the portion of the bride, who had beside, from custom immemorial, a right to ask of her mate on the next sun-rising after her nuptials, a 'morgæn-gife,' or morning's gift, to serve as her pin-money*.—*Wilk. Leg. Sax.—Spelman's Gloss.*

Welsh laws with respect to Divorce.

WE are but little acquainted with respect to the divorces of the Anglo-Saxons, although they sometimes appear: but the Welsh laws allowed the husband to put away his wife for behaviour tending toward adultery; while on her part, she might on very slight grounds separate her concerns from his. It was sufficient cause if she discovered he had an ill-scented breath.—*Leges Wallicæ.*

Conjugal authority of the Welsh.

As regards conjugal authority, our neighbours of Wales allotted decisively that, if the wife called her

standing under a kind of veil, held over her head by four tall men, that her blushes might be concealed. To a widow, this ceremony was always omitted.—*Muratori.*

* We may easily trace here the trustees to settlement; and the giving away the bride still in use with us. To explain the morgæn-gife, we must, perhaps, look to the customs of the east.

husband opprobrious names—pulled him by the beard—squandered away his goods—or lastly, if he found her in bed with another man, the injured spouse might give her three blows with a stick on any part of her head. But if he should beat her more severely, or for a less cause, he was liable to pay a considerable fine.

Education of their Children.

IN the education of their children, the Anglo-Saxons only sought to render them dauntless and apt for the two most important occupations of their future lives—war and the chase*. It was a usual trial of a child's courage, to place him on the sloping roof of a building, and if, without screaming, or terror, he held fast, he was styled a *stout herce*, or brave boy.—*Howel*.

Sepulture celebrated with more joy than Marriage.

MUCH more joyous was the ceremony of sepulture among the Anglo-Saxons than that of marriage. The house in which the body lay till its burial, was a perpetual scene of feasting, singing, dancing, and every species of riot: this was very expensive to the family of the deceased; and in the north it was carried so far, that the corpse was forcibly kept unburied by the visiting friends, until they were certain that they had consumed all the wealth

* Asser, the biographer of Alfred, mentions with amazement, that the king made his youngest son Ethelward be taught to read, before he made him acquainted with hunting.—*V. Elfredi*.

that the deceased had left behind him, in games and festivity. In vain did the Church exert itself against such enormities. The custom had prevailed during the times of paganism, and was much too pleasant to be abandoned by the half christians of the early centuries.—*Spelman, &c.*

Private life of the Anglo-Saxons.

IN private life, the Anglo-Saxons were devout to extreme credulity, and hospitable to drunken extravagance: their manners were rough, but social: when married, each side respected the nuptial tie; and most of the ladies suckled their own children. Their boards were plainly, but plentifully served. Large joints of roasted meat seem to have had the preference; salted victuals were much in use.—*Hen. of Huntingdon.*

Manners at Table of the Anglo-Saxons.

AT table, the rank of the guests was strictly observed; and by the laws of Canute, a person sitting above his proper station was to be pelted out of his place by bones, at the discretion of the company, without the privilege of taking offence.—*Bath. Leg. Canut.*

The lady (or as the Saxons named her, ‘*leaf-dien*,’ the bread-giver,) sat, as now, at the upper end of the board, and distributed the provisions to her guests. The liquors used at the genteel tables among the Anglo-Saxons, were wine, ale, and spiced ale, pigment (a composition of wine, spice,

and honey,) morat (honey diluted with mulberry juice,) and mead.—*Du Cange's Gloss. in Verb. Moratum, &c.*

Dress of the Anglo-Saxon gentlemen, soldiers, and common people.

THE dress of the Anglo-Saxon gentlemen was a loose cloak, which reached down to the ancles; and over that a long robe fastened over both shoulders on the middle of the breast, by a clasp or buckle. The cloaks and robes were frequently lined with rich furs*, and bordered with gold or embroidery. The soldiers and common people wore close coats only reaching to the knee; and short cloaks hanging over the left shoulder, and buckled on the right. Those had sometimes an edging of gold.

They wore caps that came to a point in front, which were probably made of the skins of beasts.

Dress of the Anglo-Saxon Women.

THE women wore a long loose robe, reaching to the ground. On their heads hung a veil, which, falling down before, was gathered up at the corners, and folded round their necks and over their

* Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, was mocked by the Bishop of Constance for wearing a mantle lined with the fur of lambs, and advised, at least, to adorn his cloak with cat-skins. 'Alas! my brother,' replied Wulstan, 'I have often heard of the Lamb of God, but never of his cat.' This piece of wit turned the laugh against the German prelate.—*Anglia Sacra.*

bosoms. The robe was usually ornamented with a broad border, coloured or embroidered. Slippers were worn by men and women of fashion; and the men had a crossed bandage in lieu of a stocking.

The hair of the men was worn long and flowing, and the beard was permitted to grow on the upper lip. 'These are not soldiers, but monks,' said one of Harold's spies, who had watched the Normans, and observed with surprise that they had no mustaches; and bitter were the invectives of the Anglo-Saxons against the Conqueror, for forcing them to abandon these favourite appendages.—*M. Paris. Vit. Abb.*

Gold chains and bracelets were favourite ornaments of both sexes.—*W. of Malmsb.*

Military Arms, &c.

IN England, every man was a soldier; and the county-meetings were styled *wapon-tacks*, from the custom of going armed to the assembly, and of touching the spear of the magistrate, to shew the readiness of each man for action. Slaves were not suffered to carry arms about them; the very gift of a weapon conferred freedom.

On the other hand, the freeman never stirred abroad without his spear; and laws were actually made to guard against the damages occasioned by the careless bearer.—*Wilkins.*

In battle, the *ceorles* who formed the infantry,

beside a broad sword, and sometimes a club, bore only a round shield with an offensive pointed weapon in the centre. The cavalry being composed of thanes, huscarles, and the richer ceorles who could afford to keep horses, was better provided with defensive armour. The swords of the horsemen were long and broad; and they bore a spear in a kind of rest.—*Strutt's View*.

Martial Spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, &c.

THE character of the Anglo-Saxons as to personal courage, varied according to the behaviour of their leaders. Under Egbert, Albert, and his immediate successors, they maintained the credit which their German ancestors possessed. Cowed by the unmanly bigotry of Edgar and Ethelred the Unready, they shrunk into the meanest degree of cowardice and treachery; but when headed by Edmund Ironside and Harold II. they fought (although not with success) with the most undaunted bravery.

Articles of Marriage, Ceremonies, Laws, Baptism, &c.

IN the article of marriage, very little alteration appears in the era of the Anglo-Normans, from the custom used by their predecessors.

The guardianship of the maiden was strictly maintained. And an old chronicler bitterly complains, 'that wardes are bought and solde as commonlye as are beastes,' and that 'they are forced to see with another mannes eye, and say yea with another mannes tongue,' &c.

The ceremony of putting on the wedding-ring, seems to have been a Norman addition.

Henry Beauclerc made a law which rendered contracts of marriage, if unwitnessed, void: it restrained matrimony to the seventh degree of consanguinity; and deprived the widow, who should re-marry within a year after her spouse's death, of all advantage from any possessions or wealth which she might inherit from him.

Baptism was celebrated nearly as in modern times.—*Strutt, from Langton and Peckham's Constitutions.*

Funerals of the Anglo-Saxons.

THE funerals of the Anglo-Saxons were magnificent. M. Paris tells us that the body of Henry II. was dressed in the royal robes, a gold crown on the head, and shoes wrought with gold on the feet. In this manner it was shewn to the people, with the face uncovered. The same author describes the pompous ceremonies and dresses used at the interment of each church dignitary; and has even left a drawing by his own hand to illustrate the subject.—*Strutt.*

Stone coffins and large wooden chests were used to enclose the bodies of the deceased.—*Ibid.*

It was the custom with the Anglo-Norman race to celebrate a solemn dirge, and to mourn for the decease of foreign princes.—*Caxton's additions to the Polychronicon.*

Customs introduced by the Normans into England.—

Oath of Knighthood.—Tournaments, &c.—Gallantry of the times, &c.

THE customs introduced by the Normans into England, were in general praiseworthy and gentlemanlike, when compared with those of the Anglo-Saxons. Knighthood, which necessarily comprehended a brave and liberal heart, a firm demeanour, and a graceful performance of man-like exercises, flourished under their protection. The knight, after having served a kind of apprenticeship, during seven or eight years as an esquire, bound himself by a solemn oath to be loyal to his king, to protect the virtuous part of the fair sex, and to rescue widows and orphans from oppression at the hazard of his life. The tilts and tournaments (which were pompous festivals where the skill and agility of the knight were severely tried) afforded perpetual incentives to excellence in military science*; and the picturesque duty annexed to chivalry of chusing a supreme lady, in defence of whose beauty and virtue her knight was always ready to combat, hid its own absurdity under a veil of elegance.—*St. Palaye sur la Chevalerie.*

* The very great hazard of this warlike sport, occasioned it to be forbidden, by (says Lambarde) decrees of several popes; those who fell at tiltings were also (as Camden writes) denied christian burial. The severe prohibitions seem to have related more to private exercises, than to royal tournaments, which gained much ground under Richard Cœur de Lion, and his successor. These dangers being

Favourite Sports of the principal Normans.

BESIDE the tournament, a diversion allotted only to persons of rank, the favourite sports of the principal Normans were hunting and hawking; these the kings* and prelates† and noblemen pursued with an incredible eagerness, and without the smallest regard to the labours of the husbandman. “By these pursuits,” says John of Salisbury, “they lose their humanity, and become monsters, like the savage animals they chase; shepherds and their flocks are driven from their pastures, that wild beasts may range in them at large. Should one of those potent sportsmen approach your dwelling, hasten to bring out every refreshment you have in your house, or which you can beg or borrow of your neighbours, lest you should find the fatal consequence of your neglect, and perhaps be accused of treason.’

sufficiently provided for, (says Lambarde,) and the men waxing expert:—yet not so “expert,” but that many fatal accidents occurred; as witness an earl of Pembroke, an earl of Moray, a duke of Albany, and a king of France, who, with many more, owed their death to tilting!

* Their predecessors of the Saxon race had set them the example. Edward the Confessor, as ought have been told in its place, received yearly, from the manor of Barton, near Gloucester, 3000 loaves of bread for the maintenance of his dogs.—*Atkyns*.

† Peter de Blois records the exploits of Walter, bishop of Rochester, who, at the age of 80 years, followed the chase with such perseverance and spirit, that he totally neglected the affairs of his diocese.

Domestic Amusements of the Great.—Gaming, &c.

THE game of chess, and still more the various chances of the dice, constituted domestic amusements for the great. That they carried these to excess, we may judge from many circumstances: even the horrors of civil war could not damp their spirit of gaming; for M. Paris complains of the Barons, associated to resist the tyranny of John, for spending their time in luxury and playing at dice, when their appearance was wanted in the field. Excessive gaming at dice was restrained by the second of those laws which the united kingdoms of England and France drew up in 1190 for the government of the force fitted out against the Saracens: there it is enacted that knights and clerks shall be restrained to the loss of twenty shillings (nearly what fifteen pounds would be in the eighteenth century) in a day; but that soldiers and sailors, if detected in playing for money, shall be fined at will, or whipped, or ducked.—*Brumpton. Benedict. Abbas.*

The Drama.

THEATRICAL entertainments were not wholly unknown. The miracles of saints and the sufferings of martyrs were the subjects of dramatic entertainments in London, as Fitz-Stephens writes; and we find, by M. Paris, that Geoffrey, an abbot of St. Albans, was the author of a play of St. Katherine, and that he borrowed from the sacristan the

holy vestments of the abbey, to adorn the actors. The more gross amusements of the Norman nobility, in the pantomime style, have been mentioned in a former note by John of Salisbury, who, though a severe, was a tolerably candid, critic on the times he lived in.

Diversions of the Common People.

THE common people were not without their diversions: bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and horse-racing were known to the men of London: the sports on the Thames, the skaiting, and the various exercises of the twelfth century, are accurately, and even elegantly, painted by Fitzstephens in his description of London.

Characteristic Traits and Degeneracy of the Normans, Customs, &c.

THE Normans were sober and delicate at their meals when they first invaded England: it was not long, however, before they equalled their predecessors in feasting, and even added costly epicurism to brutal gluttony*. Yet two meals each day supplied the place of the Anglo-Saxon four;

* ‘ Their baggage horses are loaded,’ (says Peter de Blois, describing the barons and knights going to war,) ‘ not with weapons, but wine; not with lances, but luncheons; not with battle-axes, but bottles; not with spears, but spits. All the sorts of beasts that roam on the land, of fishes that swim in the water, and of birds that fly in the air,’ were collected for the table of William de Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, says one of his contemporaries.—*Benedict. Abbas.*

and Robert de Mellart, prime minister and favourite of Henry Beauclerc, strove hard to reduce those two to one.—*W. Malm'sb.*

Among the most despotic barons there was a kind of gross hospitality and indiscriminate charity*, which caused their tyranny to be overlooked.

The dinner was held at nine in the morning, the supper at five in the afternoon. Besides the common meats, many dishes were used with the composition of which we are not now acquainted. As to liquors, they had several kinds, compounded of honey, of spices, and mulberry juice, such as hypocras, pigment, claret, perry, and ale.

Various kinds of bread were in use. The 'panis peperatis' was a sort of gingerbread. Wassel cakes and lemuel cakes, as they were part of the royal allowance of the king of Scots when in England, were probably made of the finest meal.—*Rym. Fœdera.*

There was great inconsistency in the general and

* As, for instance, that of Sir William Fitz-William, who lived about 1117, and who inscribed on a cross, in Sprotsborough High-street, the following verses, which (together with the cross) were destroyed in 1520 :---

' Whoso is hungry, and list will eate,
Let him come to Sprotsborough for his meate,
And for a night, and for a daye,
His horse shall have both corne and haye,
And no man shall ask him when he goeth awaye.'

M. S. apud Collins.

national character of the Anglo-Normans : they were at the same time acutely discerning and grossly credulous*, honourably brave, and atrociously cruel ; respectful to the fair sex, even to adoration, yet brutally licentious in their conduct to individuals ; effeminate in their dress and manners, yet patient of almost intolerable fatigues.

During more than one hundred years, the Normans in England shaved their faces. W. de Percy (who accompanied Duke Robert, in 1096, to Palestine) was styled, on account of his singularity as to this point, ‘ William Algernons,’ or William with the whiskers†.

Dress of the Anglo-Normans.

THE dress of the Anglo-Normans in the eleventh century was simple, if not elegant. The great wore a long and loose gown, which reached down to their heels, and had its bottom frequently embroidered with gold. Over this hung an equally long cloak, which was generally buckled over the breast. When riding or walking abroad, a hood always hung behind the cloak. The close gown was put over the hood like a sheet, and fastened round the waist by a girdle, which was often embroidered and set with precious stones.—*Strutt, from Ant. Painting.*

They wore breeches and stockings made of fine

* As witness their entire belief in astrology.

† From this old French name springs ‘ Algernon,’ a favourite appellation in the noble family of Percy.---*Coll. Peerage.*

cloth, and sometimes very costly. The absurd long-toed shoes came in with William Rufus. The queen and the women of fashion wore loose gowns trailing on the ground, and girt round the waist. The married women had an additional robe over the gown, hanging down before, not unlike a sacerdotal garment. To the girdle a large purse or pouch was suspended. The men wore their hair long, except sometimes when suddenly wrought on by fanaticism.

In the intervening centuries we find strange variations from this simplicity of habit. The crusades indeed seem to have introduced to northern Europe, among other vices, luxury and effeminacy in dress to a degree which a modern man of fashion would blush to imitate*. The umbrella was in use as early as the reign of king Stephen.—*Strutt.*

The tournament shone in its highest lustre during the thirteenth and fourteenth ages. The rival monarchs of England and France had found the energetic valour of their nobility depended greatly on the prevalence of this institution ; and it was proportionately encouraged. The effect was considerable in a military light ; but its expences were vast, its dangers great ; and when the ladies

* Consult the curious engravings in Strutt's *Regal Antiquities*. Hollingshed asserts, that Sir John Arundel, when setting out on an expedition against the coast of France, at a period little later than this, had fifty-two new suits of apparel of cloth of gold or tissue.

began to take delight in pursuing exhibitions of this kind from one end of the realm to the other*, it certainly neither increased the delicacy nor the humanity of the sex. The chase, and, in general, the sports of the field, were still eagerly followed by those of the highest ranks.—*Froissart, passim.*

Amusements of the Anglo-Saxons.—Mysteries and Miracles.—Passion for Feasting.—People of Fashion, &c. between the 13th and 14th Centuries.

THE amusements of the people continued nearly the same as in the ages immediately preceding. They received, indeed, from a proclamation of Edward II. in 1363, an admonition, that it would redound much more to their credit if they would, 'like those of former times, apply themselves to archery, instead of spending their time in throwing stones,

* The picture of the fair rantipoles of England, at a period when the pride of glory and conquest had exhilarated the hearts of both sexes almost to insanity, as drawn by a contemporary, is too curious to be omitted in this place. "These tournaments are attended by many ladies, of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party-coloured tunics, one half being of one colour, and the other half of another. Their lirripes (or tippetts) are very short, their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles are ornamented with gold and silver, and they wear short swords (like daggers) before them, which hang across the stomach. They are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture: thus equipped, they ride from place to place in quest of tournaments; by which they dissipate their fortunes, and not unfrequently ruin their reputation.---*Knighton apud Henry.*

wood, or iron ; in playing at hand-ball, foot-ball, or club-ball ; in bull-baiting, and cock-fighting, or in more useless and dishonest games.'—*Rym. Fæd.*

Mysteries and miracles, a kind of poetic dialogue, representing detached scenes from the Old and New Testament, were the only dramatic amusements ; and were acted sometimes by monks, sometimes by commercial companies. There were indeed, also, serious reflections on human life in verse, equally heavy and ill-judged.—*Warton.*

As to tragedy and comedy, when spoken of, a narration, not a drama, seems to have been intended.—*Prologue to Chaucer's Monk's Tale.*

That there were entertainments of a more diverting turn, we may conjecture from the number of minstrels and jongleurs which were entertained and encouraged by the great. An old chronicle, cited by St. Palaye, introduces some of that mirth-loving crew dancing on ropes, others riding on oxen, dressed in scarlet, and sounding their horns on the approach of every dish at the nuptials of prince Robert of France, at Compeigne, in 1237. John of Salisbury too recounts some of their feats of buffoonery ; but none seem to have been connected like a farce or pantomime*.

* In the sixth of Edward III. we find a company of men, styled vagrants, ordered to be whipt through London for representing scandalous things in ale-houses, &c. These are supposed to have been 'mummers,' a species of performers in the lowest and most

The passion for feasting increased so much in England in the fourteenth century, that a severe law was enacted by Edward III. to restrain certain ranks to proportionable banquets ; yet the example he gave edified not ; for when his son, Lionel of Clarence, married Violentes of Milan, there were thirty courses, and the fragments of the table fed a thousand persons.

‘ The wines ’ must not be forgotten when we treat of the luxuries of our ancestors. The expression denoted a collation taken by the great and elegant just before they went to bed, and consisted of spiced liquors and delicate cakes.

The varied and ridiculous modes of dress which the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries produced, were very justly the subject of bitter reprehension from the satirists of the time. Sometimes, too, the higher powers attempted to regulate them, but never with success*.

The dress of the ladies of fashion has been de-

scurrilous dramatic line. They always went masked, were lawless and profligate, and were at length proscribed by a statute in the third of Henry VIII,---*Preface to Dodsley's Old Plays.*

* The long-toed shoes in particular were, during three centuries, in vain assaulted by bulls from the popes, decrees of council, and declamations of the clergy. These strange favourites were called ‘ brackowes,’ and were sometimes cut at the top in imitation of church windows. Chaucer’s spruce clerk, Absolon,

‘ Had Paulis windowes corven on his shoes.’ *Henry.*

Gloves were a costly article of dress to our ancestors : they were frequently adorned with precious stones.---*Rot. pep. apud Warton*

scribed in a preceding note; and the following portrait, drawn by a masterly pencil, does at least equal justice to the fine gentlemen of the age.

‘What could exhibit a more fantastical appearance than an English beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long-pointed shoes fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains; hose of one colour on the one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches which did not reach to the middle of his thighs, and disclosed the shape of all the parts included in them; a coat, the one half white, the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, dancing men, &c., and sometimes ornamented with gold and precious stones.’ This dress was the top of the mode in the reign of Edward III.*

We may in some measure guess at the expences which the dress of the times must occasion to a man of the world, by the account which Adam Merrimult gives of Sir John Arundell’s wardrobe, when setting out, in 1380, on a warlike expedition against France: he had ‘two and fiftie new suits of apparell of cloth of gold or tissue.’

To this let us add the contemporary bard’s description of the manner in which a person of rank

* When the personage above described was mounted, he was not gallantly equipped unless the horse’s bridle or some part of the furniture was full of small bells. Vincent of Beauvais, an early writer, blames the knights templars for having to their horse fur-

should be accommodated at his hours of repose*.

Your blankettes shall be of fustyane,
Your shetes shall be of clothes of rayne,
Your hede-shete shall be of pery pyghte,
With dyamonds sette and rubys bryghte.

When you are laid in bed so softe,
A cage of golde shall hange of lofte,
Wythe longe peper sayre brenynge,
And cloves that be swete smellyne.

Squire of Low Degree, apud Warton.

Medical Knowledge, &c.

MEDICAL knowledge, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, seems to have been at a very low ebb. Gilbert English (the oldest writer on these subjects in our language) is said, by Dr. Freind, to have borrowed all his science from niture ‘campanulas infixas, magnum emittentes sonitum.’ Wickliffe censures the priests of his day for their ‘fair hors, and jollie gaie sadeles and brideles, which ring by the way. Then Chaucer’s monk,

‘ ———— when he rod, men might his bridle here
Gingling in a whistling wind as clere
And eke as lowde as does the chapell bell,’ &c.

And the great Cœur de Lion, as we are told in the romance which bears his name,

‘ Hye crouper henge full of belles.’

Warton’s History of Poetry.

* Mr. Strutt remarks, that even royal and noble personages appear, in illuminations, &c., to have been totally naked in their beds during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and this appears strange, as in the Saxon, Danish, and early Anglo-Norman æras, there appears to have been close garments, like shirts, on every figure lying in bed.---*Customs, &c.*

the Arabian writers. John de Gaddesden, whose 'Medical Rose' is a compendium of the whole practice of physic used in England in his time, and who has been consulted by princes, and commended by Geoffry Chaucer, appears, by some of his recipes, to be extremely ignorant and superstitious. He cured, he says, a son of Edward II. of the small pox, by wrapping him up in scarlet cloth, and hanging scarlet curtains round his bed ! As a remedy for the epilepsy, this fantastical physician orders the patient to be carried to church, to hear the mass during the fast 'quatuor temporum,' and afterwards to wear round his neck a verse of the day's gospel, written on a scroll by the priest. Yet John de Gaddesden, in his *Rosa Anglica*, points out the way of rendering salt water fresh by distillation, a discovery supposed to be of much more modern date.—*Freind. Aikin.*

State of Surgery.

THE following extract from a treatise composed by Guido de Cauliaco, in 1363, will, as Dr. Henry justly observes, clearly point out the state of chirurgery at the æra of which we treat :

'There are,' says he, 'five sects of surgeons : the first follow Roger, Rowland, &c., and apply poultices to all wounds and abscesses ; the second follow Brumis and Theodoric, and use wine only ; the third follow Saliceto and Langfranc, and treat wounds with ointments and soft plaisters ; the

fourth are chiefly Germans, who attend to the armies, and promiscuously use charms, potions, oil, and wood ; the fifth are old women and ignorant people, who in all cases have recourse to the saints.—*G. de Cauliaco, apud Freind.*

Agriculture.

THE frequency of famines, which prevailed in the earlier centuries, affords too clear a proof of the slow progress of agricultural improvement. The wretched tenure by which the inferior farmers held their lands (a tenure which obliged them to discontinue that labour which they were employing in their own fields, and to transfer it to that of their lords, whether prelates or barons,) was an effectual bar to every amendment of soil.

Horticulture.

IF gardening throve better, it was because it flourished immediately by the protection of the great. Almost every castle or monastery had its kitchen-garden, physic-garden, orchard, and, frequently, its vineyard ; and, strange as it may appear to those who consider how much less is now brought about, although with much greater advantages, yet it does appear from evidence we cannot well doubt, that at the period we now allude to, there was wine made in England in great quantity, and of a quality too, which at least is never mentioned to its disparagement.

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND COMMERCE OF ENGLAND,
FROM THE HEPTARCHY TO THE END OF THE
REIGN OF RICHARD II.

Poetry, Music, and Musical Instruments.

POETRY was in the highest esteem with all the northern nations, and the fragments left by the Welsh bards, show that Britain stood forward in that science. It wanted not regal encouragement: "Should I desire the moon of my Prince as a present, (sings a Briton, with a happy enthusiasm,) he would bestow it on me."—*Specimens of Welsh Poetry.*

The sacred regard in which the minstrels were held, even by the barbarous Danes, is plainly shewn by the method that Alfred took to inspect the camp of his foe.

Music was not unknown in these gloomy times; the harp was universally studied and honoured by Saxons and Britons. A *crwth* or *crowd*, which in some measure resembled the modern violin, was used in Wales; in the reign of Edgar, St. Dunstan gave a fine organ to Glastonbury; and thus W. of Malmsbury describes it:—"Organo, ubi per æneas fistulas musicis mensuris elaboratas, dudum conceptas, follis vomit anxius auras."

But it was to vocal improvements in church music that the greatest attention was paid in England; teachers were sent for, at a great cost, from distant countries; and the monks frequently tra-

velled to Rome, that they might learn to excel their brethren in a science on which their promotion often depended.—*Bede, &c.*

Bells.

BELLS, though not large ones, grew common throughout Europe, toward the tenth century, and were hung in the wooden towers of churches * ; the altars alone, were ordered by the canons to be built of stone.—*Mezeroy.*

In the reign of Athelstane, Turketul, Abbot of Croyland, gave to that monarch the first set of bells (as Ingulphus asserts,) ever known in England. Nevertheless there had been single bells in England, in the seventh century. The venerable Bede makes mention of them.

Clocks.

THE first clock which appeared in Europe, was probably that which Eginhard, (the secretary of Charlemagne,) describes as sent to his Royal master, by Abdalla, King of Persia. “A horologe of brass, wonderfully constructed, for the course of the twelve hours, answered to the hour glass, with as many little brazen balls, which drop down on a

* The application of bells, as well as the degree of favour shown to their music, has varied much at different periods. We are told by M. Paris, that the bells were not allowed to ring at funerals, apparently from their inspiring too gay ideas ; on the other hand, at a time somewhat later, the citizens of Bourdeaux, who had, for rebellious behaviour, been deprived of their bells, refused to receive them again, “having never been so happy as since they had been rid of their odious jingling.”

sort of bells underneath, and sounded each other.”
 —The Venetians had clocks in 872, and sent a specimen of them in that year to Constantinople.

Woollen Manufactures, Dying, &c.

THE necessary art of making woollen cloth, was brought to such perfection in England, that a Norman writer speaks of English weavers with admiration. The value of a sheep's fleece was well understood, and rated at two-fifths of the animal's whole price.

The art of dying cloths was not unknown in England. On the contrary, it was at this time common.

At Rome and Ravenna, and in some large French towns, there were in the ninth century manufacturers of woollen stuffs and of iron wares inlaid with gold and silver; they made glass also. Silk was not woven in the west until 400 years afterwards, but the Venetians began to import it from Constantinople.

St. Boniface desires, about this time, a German Bishop to send him “some cloth with a long nap, to be used in washing his feet.” He appears to mean woollen cloth. Linen was extremely scarce: this circumstance probably occasioned the leprosy, so common in the early ages.—*Voltaire*.

Physic and Surgery.

PHYSIC and chirurgery were in the early ages at a low ebb; old women seem chiefly to have stu-

died the medical arts among the northern nations, and as they mingled charms and spells with their prescriptions, the patient's fancy sometimes effected, or at least assisted, the cure: as Christianity gained ground, the clergy, having time in their hands, applied themselves to the study of medicine, but made so little progress, that, for a long space, holy water was the prescription to which they chiefly trusted.—*Keyler. Ant. Sept. Bede.*

Necessaries of Life, state of Agriculture, &c.

THE means of supplying life with necessaries, were but imperfectly known and cultivated. The poor Pagans of Sussex, though starving for want of food, knew not how to catch any fish, except eels, until Bishop Wilfred, (who, in 678, took shelter in that district,) instructed them in the use of nets. He took three hundred at a draught; and by thus supplying the bodily wants of his catechumens, rendered their minds tractable to his doctrines, and easily accomplished their conversion.—*V. Welfr.*

We know little of the state of agriculture in England; in the laws of Wales are many regulations respecting ploughs, which were so scarce, that societies were formed under legal protection, to fit them out with oxen, geer, &c.—*Leg. Wall.*

Throughout the island, the monks were much the best husbandmen; they seem to have been also the only gardeners; and we have actually a record, describing a pleasant and fruitful close at

Ely, cultivated in 674, by Brithnorth, its first abbot.
—*Hist. El. apud Gale.*

Names of the Months given by the Saxons.

OUR Saxon ancestors could give more satisfactory reasons for the names of their months, than we can for ours. December, which stood first, was styled "Mid-winter monath." January was, "Æfter-yula," or after Christmas. February, "Sol-monath," from the returning sun. March, "Rhede, or Reth-monath," rough or rugged month. April, "Easter-monath," from a Saxon goddess, whose name we still preserve. May was "Trimilchi," from the cows being then milked thrice in the day. June, "Sere-monath," dry month. July, "Mæd-monath," the meads being then in their bloom. August was "Weod-monath," from the luxuriance of weeds. September, "Hærfest-monath." October they called "Winter fyllith," from winter approaching with the full moon of that month. And, lastly, November was styled "Blot-monath," from the blood of the cattle slain in that month, and stored for winter provision. Verstegan names the months somewhat differently.

Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons.

ARCHITECTURE flourished little among the Anglo-Saxons. Vast sums were indeed expended on monastic edifices, but cost more than taste or durability seems to have been attended to: Ina, one of the princes of the Heptarchy, is said, by W. of

Malmesbury, to have laid out 365lbs. of gold, and 2887½ pounds of silver, on the erection and ornaments of a single chapel, at Glastonbury.

Wilfred bishop of York, Benedict Biscop, founder of Weremouth-abbey, and a few more, are reported to have erected elegant structures: the cathedral at Hexham is highly spoken of.—*V. Wilfred.*

In later times, the edifices raised by Alfred and his son Edward, are much famed. Yet in the days of Edgar the Peaceable, no monasteries were to be found built of better materials than rotten boards*.—*W. of Malmsb.*

Scotland and Wales had still less to boast of in point of structures.

The Saxons usually built their houses of clay, kept together by wooden frames. Bricks were scarce, and used as ornaments.—*Strutt.*

Lambecius speaks of a stone edifice raised at Hamburgh in or near 1053, which excited the wonder of the country.

Glass-making.

THE art of making (and probably of painting) glass was known; as Wilfred, bishop of York, is recorded to have used it in York cathedral.—*W. of Malmsb. de gest. pont.*

Smiths.

As necessary in the fitting of arms, smiths were tolerably expert, and held in great repute. By the

* St. Paul's cathedral was burnt down in 961, and built up again within the year. What must the materials have been?—*Maitland.*

laws of Wales, the smith held his rank next to that of the chaplain at the prince's court.—*Leg. Wal.*

Jewellery and Embroidery.

VERY highly finished works of gold and silver were the produce even of our darkest ages. The monks, whose time in retirement might well be so employed, were the best artists: St. Dunstan had great fame in this branch of sculpture. A jewel now in the Museum, at Oxford, undoubtedly made by command of, and worn by the great Alfred, is an existing witness of the height to which the art was carried. Curious reliquaries, finely wrought, and set with precious stones, were usually styled throughout Europe, "*Opera Anglica.*" — *W. of Malmsb.*

The use of gold and silver was not unknown to the Welsh in 842, when their laws were collected. The man who dared to insult the King of Aberfraw, was to pay (besides certain cows and a silver rod) a cup, which would hold as much wine as his majesty could swallow at a draught; its cover was to be as broad as the king's face; and the whole as thick as a goose's egg, or a ploughman's thumb nail.—*Leg. Wal.*

That embroidery was much attended to in Normandy, the celebrated tapestry worked by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, and still shewn at Bayeux, is an undeniable proof. A contemporary writer (William of Poitiers) praises the skill

of the Anglo-Saxon ladies in this delicate art; and the mantle of Witlaff, king of Mercia, proves that it had long been known in Britain.

Commerce of Britain during the Heptarchy.

THE commerce of Britain during this period, appears to have been very little attended to: Offa, king of Mercia, was checked by Charlemagne when he attempted to enlarge it; and Alcuinus, the Mercian ambassador, could gain very little for his country, although he established his own interest with the western emperor. Pilgrims to holy places were the smugglers during that eccentric period; and their baggage oftener consisted of prohibited merchandise than of reliques or provision.—*W. of Malmsb.*

The great Alfred had enlarged ideas of commerce: he sent rich presents to the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula; and received from thence jewels of considerable value. One day he gave to the historian Asser, a silken cloak, and a large parcel of frankincense.—*Asser. V. Alf.*

Hence it is plain he had found means to acquire the rich commodities of the east.

Edward the Elder followed the steps of Alfred; and Athelstan promulgated excellent laws in favour of sea-adventurers. By these encouragements the manners and shipping of England increased so much, that the fleet of Edgar the Peaceable is spoken of by historians as numerous beyond modern credibility.

During the unhappy reign of Ethelstan the Unready, the commerce of London most unaccountably maintained its ground; and we find several humane laws made under that prince, for the protection of distressed foreign merchantmen: there was a company of German traders, called the "Emperor's," who resided even then in London, and paid an yearly tribute to the king for his protection.—*Anderson.*

There were ships from Normandy, &c. which brought wine. There were fishing-boats which paid toll, and *Blynesgate* (Billingsgate) was the most noted quay of London.—*Leg. Ethels.*

The seamen of London are expressly mentioned by more than one historian, as taking an active part relative to the disposal of the crown, together with the other citizens, when Ethelred II. deserted the throne. Beside this, the great fleets which were more than once fitted out at a very short notice during that unhappy reign, prove that mariners must have abounded, although the quarrels and treachery of their leaders rendered their skill and valour useless.

Medicine and Law.

AMONG the Anglo-Normans, the science of medicine (as well as that of law) was monopolized by the clergy. It could not be otherwise; for with ecclesiastics only, in the early centuries, was the residence of literature.

In neither science did the monks excel*. The successive deaths of a king of England, and a duke of Austria, each, as it is said, through the ignorance of their medical attendants; and the perpetual complaints respecting dishonesty, bribery, and injustice, in the courts of law, too clearly witness, that the weight of these sciences was too great to be borne by one division (and that a narrow spirited and fanatic one) of society.

Agriculture.

IN this branch of knowledge, the priests* suc-

* John of Salisbury, in his Polycraticon, severely lashes the pe-dantry, vanity, and greediness of his medical contemporaries. Yet, he says, he writes in fear; as he is frequently obliged to be under their care, worthless as they are. At length he takes courage. "Two maxims," he writes, "they never violate; not to regard the poor, and always to take money of the rich."

How justly may the nineteenth century boast, that physicians and surgeons now make as much interest for permission to wait on the poorest and most miserable of their fellow-creatures, collected together in hospitals, as for the most shewy attendance even on the person of the sovereign!

When any singular disease occurred, recourse was frequently had, in the early ages, to Jew physicians, who were supposed to have more knowledge and practical success than their Christian brethren in science. As the practice of physic was very profitable, it tempted the monks to neglect their conventual duty; insomuch, that it was found necessary, at the council of Tours, in 1163, to form a canon, in order to restrain these avaricious ecclesiastics from leaving their convent to act as physicians, more than two months at one time.—*Bulæi Hist. Un. Parisiensis.*

* Sometimes the baron became an enterprising farmer. Richard de Rulos, chamberlain to the first William, drained bogs, enclosed commons, and (after building the significantly-named town of

ceeded better than in either law or medicine. The foreign monks brought many improvements in husbandry from Flanders, Normandy, &c. and with their own hands assisted in putting them in practice. The monk Gervese informs us, that Thomas a Becket condescended to go with his clergy, and assist the neighbours in reaping their corn and housing their hay; and these clerical exertions were thought so meritorious, that a decree in the Lateran council (A. D. 1179) encourages every monk to become a farmer; and holds out to him, while so employed, immunity and protection.

The instruments of husbandry were (according to Strutt, whose observations are made from contemporary drawings) so near to those of the present age in point of form, that any description of them would be totally unnecessary.

The farmers of Scotland, at this time, were apparently some years behind their southern brethren in the study of husbandry; and those of Wales are remarked by Giraldus Cambrensis, to have prepared their land for wheat in a different method from that adopted in England; to have used a sickle that had two wooden handles; and to have made the driver of their ploughs walk backward, while guiding his horses.

Gardening improved by the Normans.

THE art of gardening received considerable improvement (in Lincolnshire) changed the banks of the Welland from quagmires to gardens and orchards.—*Henry from Ingulphus.*

provement from the Normans; particularly with respect to the culture of the vine, which, according to W. Malmsbury, had, in his time, arrived to such perfection within the vale of Gloucester, that a sweet and palatable wine, "little inferior to that of France," was made there in abundance.

Woollen Cloths improved in England, &c.

THE very necessary art of making woollen cloth (introduced or at least highly improved in England by colonies of Flemings) seems to have flourished more in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than in those immediately succeeding: this may be reasonably accounted for by the civil wars, which desolated the island, and ruined every species of commerce and manufacture under Stephen, John, and Henry the Third.

And here, in justice to our sister island, we must not omit to bring forward the testimony of an Italian poet and traveller, 'Fazio degli Uberti,' who, in his "Ditta Mondi," thus records the serges or says of Ireland, at the beginning of the fourteenth century:—

" Similmente passamo in Irlanda,
La qual fra noi è digna di fama
Per le nobile saie che ci manda."

Which is imitated as follows:—

" To Ireland then our sails we raise;
Ireland, which merits well our praise,
By sending us its noble says."

The dictionary Della Crusca speaks of Irish says;

and Madox and Rymer are not silent concerning the friezes, and other woollen manufactures of Ireland in the time of Henry III. and Richard II. These circumstances give to the Irish the priority of a steady woollen manufacture.—*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.*

The Patrons of Poetry and Music, in the 11th and 12th Centuries.

IF poetry did not flourish about this time, it seems not to have failed for want of patronage. The Saxon Matilda, queen to Henry Beauclerc, was, as we are told by W. of Malmsbury, a generous and even profuse protectress of poets. Longchamp, the favourite minister of Richard Cœur de Lion, kept many bards in his pay, (as Benedict the abbot writes,) and even allured minstrels from France to enliven the streets of London by their songs; and Richard himself was the most liberal of patrons to poets, minstrels, &c. The works, however, which met with such encouragement from people of rank, were probably written in the Norman or French languages.

Music, like her sister Poetry, was much cherished by the first Anglo-Normans, and the minstrels, in particular, were so much favoured, that the Saxon Matilda is said, by W. of Malmsbury, to have expended her treasures upon them; and even to have oppressed her tenants, in order to raise sums of money to reward them. But it was

church-music that was most steadily attended to. The great advantages attendant on the discoveries of Guido Aretin* (which made the science comparatively easy) were for some time solely appropriated to sacred uses; and the frequent intercourse between the English prelates and the papal metropolis, occasioned every improvement to be easily transplanted from Italy to Britain. Accordingly, the enervating graces of Italy had made such progress in little more than a hundred years, that John of Salisbury styles the English music of his day, "effeminate;" and says, that "it has debased the dignity, and stained the purity of religious worship."

Sculpture and Painting.

UNDER the extensive protection of superstition, sculpture flourished in the ages we now examine. The patron saint, at least, adorned every church; and in the cathedral and conventual edifices, images abounded.

* We know but little of this ingenious monk, except that he was a native of Arezzo, in Italy. Even the laborious Bayle can tell us nothing of his history. He only denies his having written against the arch-heretic Berengarius. The discovery was surely great, and the good priest had at least an adequate idea of its consequence; for in a letter to the pope, he not only affirms that one year's attention to the science of music will now equal the proficiency gained before by ten years' labour, which is probably true enough; but he also intimates his persuasion, that, by this happy thought, (inspired, as he believes, from heaven,) "he had atoned for all his sins, and secured the salvation of his soul."—*Baronius.*

Painting, although the accurate Vertue cannot trace it so high, was much used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to decorate churches, by the Anglo-Normans : the monk Gervese celebrates the beautiful paintings in the cathedral of Canterbury, built by Archbishop Lanfranc, in the eleventh century ; and Stubbs praises the pictured ornaments in the church of St. John of Beverley, which were of a still earlier date.

Peter of Blois satirically lashes the barons of his age, (that of Henry II.) for causing both their shields and saddles to be painted with beautiful representations of combats, that they might satiate their eyes with the prospect of the affair in which they were too dastardly to engage.

The illumination of books was a branch of miniature painting much followed by the monks, and with great success. The materials which these holy artists employed, were so durable, that their missals still dazzle our eyes with the brightness of their colour, and the splendour of their gilding.

The use of Stone and Glass.

TOWARDS the close of the eleventh century, stone came into use in the erection of large edifices ; and glass was not uncommon in private houses, although looked on as a luxury.—*Anderson.*

In 1087, St. Mary's church in Cheapside was built on stone arches, whence its epithet, "Le Bow," or "De Arcubus."—*Ibid.*

The stone bridge which Queen Matilda built at Stratford, in Essex, near the same period, gave also the name of 'Le Bow' to the place. These are testimonies of the scarcity of stone arches in the eleventh century.—*Ibid.*

In 1176, one Coleman, a priest, began to build London bridge of stone, in consequence of an order made by the king and council. It was about thirty-three years before (ere) it was finished, and the course of the Thames was changed during that time, by a trench (probably that made by Canute) from Battersea to Rotherhithe.—*Stow's Survey.*

Some few citizens had their houses of stone.

St. Paul's, in London, having been consumed by fire, was rebuilt in 1187, and the following year, on arches of stone; 'a wonderful work,' say the authors of the day. But although the workmen employed in the business were from France, and the materials from Normandy, yet even the city of Paris could not at this period boast of any pavement in her streets.

The few remains we have of castles, &c. built before the thirteenth century, appear strong and heavy, with very little gracefulness. But the era approached when the solemn and affecting Gothic style was to shine out, and throw a strong shade on the solid Saxon and the uncouth British, under the patronage of the tasteful, though weak Henry III. and of his glorious offspring Edward I.

Commerce.

THE commerce of England, which had not been contemptible even during the ravages of her various spoilers, began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to increase with some rapidity. Beside, London (whose opulent traders were styled 'barons*,') and some of whose streets were exclusively tenanted by the most rich Jews of Europe,) York, Bristol, Canterbury, Exeter, and many other towns, (low as their inhabitants were rated in the Domesday-book,) grew rich and respectable by their attention to trade and navigation.—*W. Malmsb.—Stow.*

It is painful to relate, that for some years after the Norman invasion, slaves continued to compose a part of the exports from England to foreign parts, and particularly to Ireland, notwithstanding the decree issued by the great council sitting in 1102, at St. Peter's, Westminster, against this odious traffic.—*Eaelmer. Hist. Nover.*

More laudable exports were horses†, wool, leather, corn, lead‡, and tin. The imports were

* A privilege also enjoyed by the merchants of the Cinque Ports, in Kent and Sussex, whose representatives are styled *barons*. These towns were bound (in consideration of considerable immunities) to supply the government of England with 57 ships, at 40 days' notice; and to pay their crews during 15 days.—*Lib. Rub. Scacc.*

† The horses of England were always valuable. A baron, named Amplitell Till, agreed to pay to the exorbitant John, for his ransom, ten horses, each worth 30 marks, nearly equal equivalent to £300 of our money.—*Rym. Fœd. apud Henry.*

‡ Most of the cathedral and abbey churches, and many palaces

wines*, gold, and precious stones, silk and tapestry, drugs and spices†, furs, materials for dying, and some corn.

The only manufacture of any consequence which England possessed about this time, was that of wool, which she owed to the sage and fostering hand of the intuitive third Edward. In spite of the brutal disgust of his absurd subjects, that resolute prince, by bringing many Flemish and other foreign artists to settle in the island, opened a sluice to a torrent of prosperous wealth, which in the space of more than four centuries has continued to fertilize our land.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT COURT, OR PARLIAMENT OF THE NATION, &c.

THE Wittena Gemot, or Mycel Synod, that is, Council of the Wites or Great Council, was the Assembly of the States of the Nation. How far its au-

and public buildings in France and other districts on the continent, are said to have been covered with the lead of England.—*Hist. Littéraire de la France.*

* So important did the regulations of the wines appear to the Anglo-Normans, that a jury was appointed in each city, borough, &c. to examine the merit, and settle the value of this enticing commodity, “and by this means,” says the contemporary Hoveden, “the land was filled with drink and drunkards.”—*Ano. Reg. Joh.*

† Spices were favourite ingredients in the meat, the drink, and the medicines of our ancestors. “The Sabæans,” says Fitz-Stephen, import to London their frankincense and other spices; and from the rich country about Babylon, they bring oil of palms.”

thority extended, or of what persons it was composed, is much controverted. Its name, derived from the Wites, seems only to imply the great Thanes or Lords and Governors, yet Ina, Egbert, Alfred, Edgar, Canute, &c. in their characters and laws mention the permission, approbation, and consent of the people, which some take for an argument in favour of the Commons having had a share in the Great Assembly of the nation. The Conqueror certainly had no council by which he could be controled in any thing; nevertheless, the ancient statutes concerning the holding the parliament of England, inscribed in the preface to Edward the Confessor, are there said to have been corrected and approved by the Conqueror. In them is regulated the manner of assembling this court, in 25 articles; but it seems not to be doubted but several of them were added in posterior reigns after the Conqueror. They were extant in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, t. xii. p. 557. Though the name of Parliament was new, and French, this court was looked upon, in the wars of the Barons, as a restoration of the Great Council of the Nation under the English Saxons, though doubtless the form was considerably altered; and the little mention that is made of this Wittena Gemot, in the Saxon Chronicle, seems to indicate that its transactions were not then so famous. As to the other chief English Saxon Courts, the Shire Gemot, or Folk-Mote, was held twice a year, to determin

the causes of the county. In it the Bishop and Ealderman presided ; in the absence of the former, an Ecclesiastical Deputy ; of the latter, the High Sheriff held their places. The Conqueror excused the Bishops from assisting at this court, but they had their own court for Ecclesiastical matters. Every Thane of the first class had a court, in which he determined matters relating to his vassals. This was the original of the Court Baron, under the Normans, though causes, which were formerly tried here for near three hundred years, are reserved to the King's Courts ; and those which were judged by the Ealderman, or Earl, or his Sheriff, &c. are long since determined by itinerant Royal Judges. The King presided in his own courts, and, in his absence, the Chancellor : to this lay appeals from all the Shire Gimots, &c. In this court Alfred condemned to death 44 Judges of inferior courts, convicted of neglect in the administration of justice. Though mild in his laws, he was rigid in their execution. To this council of the King, succeeded the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas. (See Lambard, *on the laws of the ancient English*, Seldon, Spelman, Somnor, Drake, and particularly Squires.

OF THE RED OR DOOMSDAY BOOK, BEING THE
REGISTER OF THE SURVEY OF THE KINGDOM.

THE great survey of all the lands, castles, &c. in

England, was made by the Conqueror, in the 18th or 20th year of his reign, and two authentic copies drawn up, one of which was lodged in the archives of Westminster, the other in Winchester Cathedral, as Thomas Rudborne informs us. (Angl. Sacra, t. i, p. 259.) The register of survey, called by the English, the *Red Book*, or more frequently, *Domsday Book*, often quotes the usages and survey of Edward the Confessor, as appears from the curious and interesting extract of English Saxon customs, copied from this MS. by Mr. Gale. (Anglo Script. 15, t. ii, p. 759.) Alfred first made a general survey, but this only comprised Shires, Hundreds, and Tents or Tythings. The survey of the Confessor, perhaps, was of this nature; that of the Conqueror was made with the utmost rigour, and such minute accuracy, that there was not a hyde of land (about 64 acres) the yearly revenue or rent whereof, and the name of Proprietor, which were not registered; with the meadows, arable land, founts, rivers, number of cattle, and of the inhabitants in towns and villages, &c.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INSTITUTION OF ACADEMICAL DEGREES.

THE general study of Paris, as it was at first called, was founded by Charlemagne, about the year 800. King Lewis VI. surnamed the big, or the fat, was not only a great scholar, but a most zealous patron

of the sciences. He succeeded his father, Philip I. in 1110 : by his protection and encouragement, studies began to flourish exceedingly, and there were, in his reign, more students than citizens at Paris, to which the name of academy was first given about that time. In the following century it was called the University, from the whole circle of sciences being taught there. The number of students was much increased by the liberty which every one had of disposing himself as he pleased. After Lewis the Big had abolished many severe customs concerning vassalages, and began to loosen the hard servitude of the people under their immediate lords, who were a kind of subaltern sovereigns in their own estates, so many set up for teachers, and some, like Abelard, sold their lessons at so dear a rate, that such an abuse stood in need of restraint. *Ecolatres*, or Scholastics, were established in Cathedrals in the 11th century, who often governed the Bishop's seminaries. An order was published in the 12th century, that none should teach without their license. In Universities, Academical Degrees were introduced, in the same age, for the purpose of licensing persons to teach. Some moderns falsely ascribe their institution at Bologna, to Gratian ; and at Paris, to Peter Lombard and Gilbert de la Porrée : before this latter went to Poitiers, Egasivus Bulæus. Hist. Univ. Paris, p. 225. (See this groundless assertion confuted by the authors of the Hist. Litteraire, p. 83.)

The degree of Licentiate was first given at Paris in the 12th age, and consisted originally in a public license given to teach. Soon after, that of a Master, or Doctor, was added. In conferring the degree, a Wand, or Bacillus, was delivered, whence the name Baccalaureus. This title was sometime after made an inferior distinct title.

ORIGIN OF THE TITLE OF SHERIFF, AND TITLES OF HONOUR AMONGST THE SAXONS IN ENGLAND, &c.

AMONGST our Saxon ancestors, the titles of honour were Etheling, Prince of the Blood; Chancellor; Assistant to the King in giving Judgments; Alderman or Ealderman (not Earlderman, as Rapin Thoyras writes this word in his first edition); Governor or Viceroy. It is derived from the word *Ald* or *Old*, like senator in Latin.

Provinces, cities, and sometimes wapentakes, had their aldermen to govern them, determine law-suits, judge criminals, &c. This office gave place to the title of Earl, which was merely Danish, and introduced by Canute.

Sheriff, or She-reeve, was the deputy of the Alderman, chosen by him, sat judge in some courts, and saw sentence executed; hence he was called *Vice-comes*.

Heartoghan, among our Saxon ancestors, signified, Generals of armies or Dukes; Hengist, in the Saxon chronicle, is Heartogh. Such were the Dukes appointed by Constantine the Great, to

command the forces in the different provinces of the Roman empire.

These titles began to become hereditary with the office or command annexed, under Pepin and Charlemagne, and grew more frequent by the successors of these Princes granting many hereditary fiefs to noblemen, to which they annexed titular dignities.

Fiefs were an establishment of the Lombards, from whom the Emperors of Germany and Kings of France borrowed this custom, and with it, the feudal laws, of which no mention is found in the Roman code. Titles began frequently to become merely hereditary about the time of Etho I. in Germany.

Reeve, among the English Saxons, was a steward. The Bishop's reeve was the Bishop's steward for secular affairs, attending his court. Thaness, i. e. servants, were officers of the Crown whom the king recompensed with land, sometimes to descend to their posterity, but always to be held of him with some obligation of service, homage, or acknowledgment. There were other lords of lands, and vassals, who enjoyed the title of Thaness, and were distinguished from the king's Thaness.

The ealdermen and dukes were all king's Thaness, and all others who held lands of the king by knight's service in chief, and were immediate great tenants of the king's estates: these were the greater Thaness, and were succeeded by the barons,

which title was brought in by the Normans, and is rarely met with before the conquest. Mass Thanes were those who held land in fee of the church. Middle Thanes, were such as held very small estates of the king, or parcels of land of the great king's Thanes; they were called vavassors, and their lands vavassors: they who held lands of these, were Thanes of the lowest class, and did not rank as gentlemen.

All Thanes disposed of the lands they held (and which were called block land to their heirs) but with the obligations due to those of whom they were held.

Ceorle, (whence the word churl) was a countryman or artizan who was a freeman; these Ceorles, who held lands in leases, were called sockmen, and their land sockland, of which they could not dispose, being merely tenants. Those Ceorles who acquired possession of five hides of land, with a large house, court, and bell, to call together their servants, were raised to the rank of Thanes of the lowest class. A hide of land was as much as one plough could till. The villians or slaves in the country, who were labourers bound to the service of particular persons, were capable of possessing money in property, consequently, were not strictly slaves, in the sense of the Roman law.

Witan or Wites, (i. e. wisemen,) were the magistrates and lawyers. Burgh Witten signified the magistrates of cities.

Some shires (or counties) are mentioned before king Alfred; and Assyerius speaks of earls (or counts) of Somerset, in Devonshire, in the reign of Ethelwolph: but it was Alfred who first divided the whole kingdom into shires; the shires into tithings, lathes, or wapentakes; the tithings into hundreds; and the hundreds into tenths. Each division had a court, subordinate to those that were superior, the highest in each shire being the shire Gimot, or Folk-Mote, which was held twice a year, and in which the bishop, or his deputy, and the ealderman, or his vicegerent the sheriff, presided.

*** See Seldon *on the Titles of Honour*; Spelman's Glossary (new ed.); Squires on the Government of the English Saxons; Dr. William Howell, in his learned General History, vol. v. p. 273.

The titles of earle and hersen were first given by Ifwar Widfame, king of Sweden, to two ministers of state, in 824. (Vide Olof Delin's New History of Sweden, c. v. vol. i. p. 334.)

ROYAL SEALS.

THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND.

Its Origin—When first used—&c.

THE learned Dr. Hickes, (in Dissert. Epist. p. 64) pretends that Edward the Confessor was the first king of England who used a seal in his charters, similar to that we find in his charters given to West-

minster Abbey, kept among the archives of that church; and on one of his diplomas shewn in the monastery of St. Dennis, near Paris. This is the origin of the broad seal in England.

Montfaucon exhibits three or four rough seals, found on some of the charters of the Merovigian kings, the oldest of which is one of Theodoric I. (*Antiq. de la Monarchie Française.*) The ancient kings of Persia and Media had their seals, (*Dan. vi. 17—xiv. 13-16. Esther iii. 10.*) They are also mentioned by profane authors. The Benedictines, in their new French *diplomatique* (t. iv. p. 100) present us the heads of seals of all the ancient kings of France, from Childeric, father of Cloves; of the German emperors and kings, from Charlemagne, especially from king Henry II. in the eleventh century, in imitation of the emperors of Constantinople; of the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, Hungary, &c. from the 12th century. These authors prove against Hicks, Dugdale, &c. (the latter in his *antiquities of Warwickshire*) that seals were used by the kings of England before St. Edward, Ethelbert, Edgar, St. Dunstan, even Offa, during the heptarchy.

St. Edward brought the more frequent use of the Royal seal from France, yet he often gave charters, attested by the subscription of many illustrious witnesses, with a cross to each name, without any Royal seal, which was the ancient custom, and continued sometimes to be used

even after the conquest. Menage and the editors of the New Latin Glossary of Du Cange, t. vi. p. 487,) by a gross mistake, attribute to the Conqueror the first use of a Royal seal in England. He only made it more solemn and common. Ingulphus (p. 901) ; the Annals of Burton (p. 246) are to be understood, that seals were not used by particulars at the conquest; but they do not include the court; hence we learn the sense of that common assertion of our historians and lawyers, that St. Edward was the first institutor of the broad seal.

The first kings used for their seal their own image on horseback ; afterwards, great men used their arms, when these became settled and hereditary. About the time of Edward the *third*, seals became common among all the gentry. Mackenzie and Nisbet, remark, that they served, in deeds, without the subscription of any name, till this was ordered in Scotland by James V. in 1540, and about the same time in England. (Vide Bigland's Observations on Parochial Registers, p. 81.)

ORIGIN OF THE STATUTE OF MORTMAIN.

IN the flourishing times of Popery, the Clergy, ever since the introduction of Christianity into this island, had been accumulating land and riches; insomuch, that they had swelled, what at first was but a mole-hill, into a huge mountain. The enormous bulk of their possessions in the 13th century,

and what they were daily acquiring from the mistaken charity of that age, made it justly suspicious, that they might, in another century, engross the whole. Beside, it was well known, whatever lands they gained this way, that they were from thenceforward unalienable, and a *dead hand* was laid on them for ever. The laity had been long desirous to stem this torrent; but they wanted a king of sufficient resolution to despise the thunder of the Vatican, and effectually to put a stop to these dangerous proceedings. Such a king they found in that magnanimous prince, King Edward I., who, in the year 1279, summoned a parliament for that express purpose. When he made the proposal, it was received by the laity with universal joy; and the clergy durst not oppose it, lest a heavier blow should fall upon them. In fine, it was enacted, "that from thenceforth none should either give, sell, bequeath, or change any lands, tenements, or rents, to any religious body, without licence from the king for that purpose." This statute was called the Statute of *Mortmain*; because it was intended to prevent estates from falling into *dead hands*; that is, hands of no service to the king or the public, without hopes of ever changing their owners.

Sir William Blackstone, speaking of this statute, says, "it closed the great gulph in which all the landed property of the kingdom was in danger of being swallowed up."

ROYAL GRANTS, &c. FROM THE PATENT ROLLS.

In the Index, or Catalogue, published some years ago, by order of Parliament, there are various entries which relate to ancient customs, and which fix certain events to their true dates. To the lovers of English topographical history, these will doubtless be read with infinite advantage.

Conceiving that some kind of classification might be necessary, these extracts are considered under their respective heads, as *Royal*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Commercial*, *Especial Grants*, and *Miscellaneous*.

Royal.

In 1206 King John grants to W. de Camville, a licence to destroy game in any of the royal forests, which proves the origin of the Game Laws*.

1238. Henry III. gave 500*l.* to Baldwyn, Emperor of Constantinople †.

1245. Gryffidh, son of Llewellyn, King of Wales, fell from a window in the Tower, and broke his neck, *accidentally* ‡.

1267. Henry III. sold and pawned the gold, precious stones, and other jewels, of the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster §.

* Rot. Pat. 6 Joh'is m. 5. Licentia fugandi per omn. forestas R. Gul. de Camville.

† 23 Hen. III. m. 2. R. ded. Imperatori Constantinop. quingentas libras.

‡ 28 Hen. III. m. 6. Cecidit de Turre Londin. et collum suum rumpebat per infortunium.

§ 51 Hen. III. m. 18. R. vendidit & impignoravit aurum, lapides

1342. King Edward III. forgives to the mayor and citizens of London, the indignation and *rancour of mind* that he had conceived against them *.

1344. Certain trustees were appointed to pawn the great crown, and other regalia, in foreign parts †.

1344. The king grants to Adam Thorp, the *trimmer of his beard*, certain lands at Eye, near Westminster. The scrupulous attention which Edward III. paid to that ornament of his face, may be seen in his bronze effigy in Westminster Abbey, which was taken from a mask after his death ‡.

1345. W. de Langley, high bailiff of the forest of Inglewood, is sworn before the king, that, as often as it shall tend to the king's honour, he will grant a day's coursing of deer, and other game, to knights and gentlemen, to ladies and other noble personages; and, as an especial proof of his royal consideration, "*to weak, sickly, or pregnant women.*" This is an additional proof of the respect paid to

preciosas, et alia jocalia, Feretri B. Edwardi Westmon. Dat. 28 Majj, apud Stratford.

* Edw. III. 15. m. 47. R. condonavit Majori & Civ. London. indignacionem et animi rancorem quos erga ipsos concepit.

† 17 Edw. III. m. 8. Certi assignati pro magnâ coronâ & al. jocal. regalibus in partes transmarinas invadiatis.

‡ 17 Edw. III. p. 3. m. 21. R. concessit Adæ de Thorp, Barbi-Tonsori suo, in feodo l mess. 25 ac. terræ & 3 ac. prati in Eye juxt. Westm.

the other sex, in days usually termed barbarous and Gothic *.

1360. Richard de Wye is appointed the king's surgeon for life, with twelve-pence daily wages, and 8 marcs *per annum* †.

1361. A grant to John Woodrove, the king's confessor, of 69*l.* *per annum* for the maintenance of himself, his servants, and horses †.

1403. The conduct of King Henry IV. respecting the private wealth of his unfortunate predecessor, is unnoticed by our historians. It appears that Richard II. gave to John Ikelinton, a priest, and probably his confessor, 65,000 marcs, and 946 marcs, and divers jewels of great value; which he enjoined him by word of mouth, and by certain signs made between them, to distribute among certain persons §.

* 18 Edw. III. m. 25. "Quod W. de Langley Capit. Ballivus R's in Forest. de Inglewood super sacramentum suum R'i præstitum possit pro honore R's quandocunque sibi fore viderit, militibus et probis ho'ibus, necnon dominabus et aliis nobilibus, necnon fœminis infirmis et prægnantibus, in circuitû forestæ illius dare unum cursum ad cervam, bissam, damam," &c.

† 33 Edw. III. m. 27. R. de Wye Chirurgicus R's hab. 12 den. per diem & 8 marc. per ann' pro vadiis suis.

‡ 34 Edw. III. m. 28. R. concess. Fratri Joh'i Woderove Confess. suo pro se, servis et equis suis, 69 lib. per ann'.

§ 4 Hen. IV. m. 21. R. Ricardus 2, dedit Joh'i Ikelington Clerico 65 mill. marc. ac. 946 marc. ac. divers. alia jocalia magni valoris, et ei ore tenus injunxit ut ipse per certa intersignia inter ipsos Regem & Joh'em dictat summam certis personis distribueret.

1409. The king settles on Joan of Navarre, his queen, 10,000*l. per annum**.

1414. The same queen has a grant of 10,000 marcs from the sale of the lands belonging to the alien priories †.

1417. Henry V. grants to Joan Warin, his nurse, an annuity of 20*l.* during life ‡.

1418. He pawns to the Mayor of London, in trust for the city, his collar called "Pusan," the jewels of which were valued at 10,000 marcs §.

1422. The salary of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was 8000 marcs a-year, so long as he should execute the office of protector of this realm ||.

1422. The jewels which had belonged to King Henry V., and were valued at so large a sum as 40,000*l.*, were delivered to Sir Henry Fitz Hugh, and his other executors, for *the payment of his personal debts* ¶.

1422. The "Pysane," or great collar of gold and rubies, was pawned by the king to his uncle,

* 9 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 22.

† 1 Hen. V. 5. p. m. 11.

‡ 3 Hen. V. m. 13.

§ 4 Hen. V. m. 4. R. mutriavit Maj. London. collerum suum vocat "Pusan."

|| 1 Hen. VI. m. 10. R. concess. Humphredo Duci Glouc. Regni Angliæ protectori ac defensori et principali Conciliario suo 8000 marcas annui redd' quamdiu officium prædictum exercuerit.

¶ 1 Hen. VI. 5 p. m. 4. Certa jocalia Hen. 5^u apreciata ad 40,000 lib. deliberata Hen. Fitz-Hugh militi ac aliis executoribus dicti R's ad debita R's persolvend; quorum jocalium particularia exprimuntur.—16 Hen. VI. Jocal. R.'s mutuand. pro 100,000*l.*

Cardinal Beaufort, who is supposed, at the time of his death, to have amassed more wealth than any subject in England*.

Ecclesiastical.

1204. Licence to the Bishop of London to im- park his wood at Ratinden, and for the tythe of all venison within his bishoprick†.

1259. Licence that Henry de Wengeham, Bishop of London, may retain all his dignities, namely, two deaneries, ten large prebends and rectories. This was the age of pluralities, when preferments of equal value and extent were not uncommon‡.

1268. The mendicant friars, then newly intro- duced, had gained such influence among the people, that the king issued an order to arrest them§.

1330. Safe conduct granted to the Bishop of Durham through the diocese of the Archbishop of York, because *so fierce a contest* had existed be- tween them, concerning their dignities and pre- eminences||.

1332. The king acknowledges the receipt of

* 21 Hen. VI. p. II. m. 9. "A Pysane of gold, called the rich collar, pawned to Cardinal Beaufort."

† Joh's 6. m. 16.

‡ Hen. III. 43. m. 6.

§ Hen. III. 54. m. 17. De fratribus *vagabundis* arrestandis.

|| Edw. III. 3 m. 11. Salv. conduct. pro Ep'o Dunelm. eo quod metuit de Archieop'o Ebor. inter quos *gravis contentio & pugna* fait, &c.

certain relics sent to him by the King of France, namely, a chrystal vessel, in which are contained certain small bones; another with the relics of the Innocents; and a third of silver gilt, in which are the relics of St. Sylvester, part of the ribs of St. Lawrence, and a joint of the thumb of St. John Baptist*.

1332. The store belonging to the see of Winton had been seized, on account of a debt due to Edward II.—namely, 127 heifers, 1556 oxen, 4356 ewes, 2697 wedder sheep, &c.†

1342. Peter, Bishop of Savoy, a Roman Cardinal, obtained permission to export sixty sacks of wool, for the clothing of his domestics‡.

1369. Thomas De L'Isle, Bishop of Ely, having consumed the store belonging to the said see, which consisted of 471 oxen, 290 hackneys, 42 cart-horses, &c., the king granted him 706*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* that he might replenish it with that sum; which store was to remain for ever, to the use of the said bishop and his successors§.

In the reign of Edward I., during the vacancy of the bishop's sees, mandates were directed for killing, drying, and salting venison from their

* Edw. III. 5. p. 2. m. 6.

† Edw. III. 5. m. 3.

‡ Edw. III. 15. p. 2. m. 35. "Pro vesturo familiarorum suorum."

§ Edw. III. 42. p. 2. m. 22. Rex concessit Ep'o Eliensi 706*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ut de dicta summa implementa emerentur & remanerent dict. Ep'o et successoribus suis."

several parks, and sending it, packed up in tubs, to any of the king's houses*.

1372. A knight was arrested, for insults offered to monks and other religious†.

Commercial.

In the year 1203, King John granted a protection to the merchants of Portugal, who then traded to England‡.

1214. The Knights Templars first obtained a licence for exporting the wool grown upon their estates§.

1216. Wool intended for exportation was seized at Bristol, and valued at six marcs each sack||.

1238. Iron forges first erected in the forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire¶.

1258. A prohibition against exporting horses for sale**.

1267. The origin of barriers, or turnpikes, in

* Rot. Claus. Edw. I. 26. m. 6. "W. de Sutton, &c. custod. Episc. de Ely, mandamus quod in parcis Episc. prædict. 100 damos in instanti seisona pinguedinis capi, saliri, siccari, et eos salitos & siccatos in doleis poni & salvo custodiri faciatis.

† Edw. III. 45. a tergo 8, de arrestando Richard. Peshale militem, eo quod fuit communis verberator monachorum & aliorum religiosiorum.

‡ Joh'is 4. m. 8. n. 17. Protectio pro mercatoribus de Portugalliâ.

§ Joh'is 15. m. 8.

|| Hen. III. 1. m. 7.

¶ Hen. III. 21. m. 11. De forgeis levandis in Forestâ de Dean.

** Hen. III. 42. m. 4. "Ne quis transfretaret equos venales."

a grant of a penny for each waggon passing through a manor*.

1331. Bakers and tavern-keepers of London punished for fraud. The price of wine not to exceed one half-penny a pint more than in London†.

1339. A right of mining for gold and silver, and searching for hidden treasure, granted to the inhabitants of Devonshire for ever‡.

1344. Grant of a salt-pan at Droitwich to the Prior of Worcester§.

1364. Salmon fishery in the river Severn first confirmed by royal grant.

1390. A grant to John Young, refiner, of all the gold and silver found in any mine in England, paying to the Crown a ninth part, to the Church a tenth, and to the lord of the soil a thirteenth part of all that should be found||.

Among the Escheat Rolls in 1441, is a precept for the recovery of debts against foreigners ¶.

* Hen. III. 51. m. 21. Quod l. Ripariis capiat in feod. l denar. de qualibet carectâ transeunte per maneria sua de Thormerton & Littleton, co. Glouc.

† Edw. III. 4. p. 2. m. 16.—m. 21. Quod *lagena vini* non vendatur charius quam in London. nisi per l obol. tantum & de castigando pistoros, tabernarios, &c.

‡ Edw. III. 12. m. 4. “Possint solum fodere pro minâ auri et argenti ac pro thesauro abscondito.

§ Edw. III. 16. p. 2. m. 27.

|| Richard II. p. 3. m. 23. R. concessit Johanni Yonge, Finour, omnes *mineras auri et argenti* in Angl. per septem annos solvend. Regi 9 partes, &c.

¶ Edw. III. 14. m. 47.

In 1444, a patent was granted to John Cobbe, that by the art of philosophy he might transfer imperfect metals from their own proper nature, and transmute them into gold or silver*.

The beer brewers of London were incorporated in 1438†; and in

1460, John Devenyshe, and others, were appointed to supervise them all over England, with a fee of one halfpenny on each barrel ‡.

Especial Grants.

1205. William de Norwich, an ecclesiastic, to be Justiciary of the Jews, or the judge before whom all causes between Christians and Jews should be heard and determined.

1255. Concerning a reward given to Master Gerard, the king's engineer, for certain engines made at Carlisle:—these were probably “*arietes et catapultæ*,” used in sieges by the Normans, and retained from the military system of the Romans§.

1269 and 1270. Rewards offered for bringing to the exchequer ear-rings, which had been lost or stolen ||.

* Hen. VI. 22. p. 2. m. 11. “*Quod Joh'es Cobbe per artem philosophiæ possit metalla imperfecta de suo proprio genere trans-ferre, et ea in aurum vel argentum transmutare.*”

† Hen. VI. 16. m. 1. Incorporatio pro Braciatoribus London.

‡ Edw. IV. 1. p. 3. m. 16. Scrutinium et supervisium de omnibus ‘les Berebrewers’ infra regnum Angliæ.

§ Rot. Pat. 40 Hen. III. à tergo. Ingenia facta pro Rege apud Carliol. per Magist. Gerard, *ingeniatorum* suum.

|| 54 Hen. III m. 5. No. 15 and 55. m. 29. No. 46. De auriculâ amissâ et de dextrâ auriculâ amissâ.

1285. A grant to the Prior of St. Katherine, at Lincoln, to erect a windmill near the priory. Windmills were introduced into England after the first Crusade. In Palestine, and in the Oriental countries, they were invented to supply the deficiency of water, where they are still very much in use, but smaller than ours, and many placed together in a row*.

1311. The king certifies, that Peter Auger, his valet, wears a long beard in consequence of a vow, though he be not of the order of Knights Templar; which proves that such distinction was peculiar to them†.

1341. Fee and wages to W. de Whitton, for searching and examining all nests of falcons and hawks, everywhere in Wales‡.

1351. § Pardon to W. Spicer, of Bristol, for having gone a pilgrimage to Rome, a demonstration that such could not be then undertaken without the royal licence.

1356. Grant to Richard Couplande of lands in fee, of the value of 500*l. per annum*, to maintain his

13 Edw. I. m. 23. Quod Prior S. Kath. Lincoln possit de novo construere unum *molendinum ventriticum* in viridi placeâ juxta portam ejusd. prioratûs.

† 4 Edw. II. 2. p. m. 20. Rex innotescit, quod Petrus Auger valectus suas barbam suam nutrit ob votum peregrinationis tantum.

‡ 14 Edw. III. m. 6. Will. de Whitton scrutator et explorator omnium nidorum falconum et laniarorum *ubicunque* in Walliâ, ac ejus rad. et feodum.

§ 24 Edw. III. p. 8 m. 4. Pardonatio peregrinationis concess. Ricardo Spicer de Bristol, eo quod ivit peregrinat. versùs Romam.

state as a Bannaret, for his services against the Scots. The landed revenue of few of the nobility exceeded that sum annually; which ascertains the dignity of that description of knighthood, and the king's gratitude*.

1373. The office of Chirographer in the King's Bench to John Woodroffe, the King's Confessor, to whom, in 1361, had been granted a fee of 69*l.* a-year, for himself, his servants, and horses†.

1374. ‡ The king grants to Alice Perrers, late one of the *maids* of Philippa, late Queen of England, all the *jewels, goods, and chuttels*, of the said queen, for her *own proper use*, &c. A memorable instance of injustice and dotage!!! Queen Philippa left *five* daughters to have inherited them.

1400. Grant to Thomas Flaxman, of a certain gown of motley velvet, of damask with furs, which belonged to Thomas Lord Despenser, in which gown Thomas was taken without the house of the Mayor of Bristol §.

* 29 Edw. III. m. 2. Rex concess. Ricardo de Coupeland in feodo pro servitiis suis versus Scotos diversa maneria terr. et costum. ad valentiam quingent. lib. per ann. ad *manutenendum statum Ba'neretti*.

† 34 Edw. III. m. 28. 46 Edw. III. m. . . Officium Chirograph. de Communi Banco.

‡ 47 Edw. III. m. 23. R. conc. Alicæ Perrers, nuper uni domi-cellarum Philippæ nuper reginæ, omnia jocalia, bona, et catalla, quæ fuerunt *ipsius Philippæ*, ad *proprium usum*.

§ 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 8. R. conc. Will. Flaxman quandam togam *de motley-velvet de damaske furratum*, quæ nuper fuit Thomæ Dni. Despenser, in quâ quidem togâ idem Thomas extra dom. Majoris de Bristol captus extitit.

1459. The King created Richard Benwell Pursuivant of Arms, by putting on a collar*.

1478. The King, in person, *crowned* John More, Norroy, with a fee of 20 marcs a-year†.

1449. William Brocas had a grant of Weldon Parva, in Northamptonshire, by grand serjeanty of being master of the king's buckhounds, and of maintaining 24 hounds and six greyhounds, with 50*l.* *per annum* out of the counties of Surrey and Sussex‡.

Miscellaneous.

1230. § Licence to Robert Tateshall, to embattle his house at Tateshall, co. Linc.

1236. || The third penny issuing from the county was essential to constitute an earldom, as it was granted to Henry de Vere out of the county of Oxford.

1252. ¶ Grant to Wilbert de Rue, of a messuage

* 37 Hen. VI. 2. p. m. 19. R. creavit R. Benwell Pursuivandum suum ad arma, imponendo sibi collar', &c.

† 18 Edw. IV. 2. p. m. 4. R. coronavit Joh'em More Norroy.

‡ 27 Hen. VI. m. 28. W. Brocas Arm. tenet manerium de Parva Weldon, co. Northampt. per magn. serjeantiam essendi magistrum canum regis vocat. "Bukkhoundes: et ad custod. 24. canes currentes et sex leporarios, ratione tenuræ predictæ; cui R. pro feodis concess. hæred. masculis 50*l.* annuas de exitibus comitat. Surr. et Sussex.

§ 15 Hen. III. m. 2. Quod possit *kernellare* mansum suum; which term is derived from "crena," a notch.—*Du Fresne*.

|| 21 Hen. III. m. 5.

¶ 37 Hen. III. m. 8. Reddendo unum par *chirothecarum*.

in Gloucester, in fee, for one pair of gloves, annually.

1252. *That the dogs belonging to the demesnes of the Abbot of Stoneleigh should not be impressed for the royal use.

1254. † The King assigns to the brethren of the gild, whose office it is to ring the great bells at Westminster, 100 shillings a-year out of the exchequer, as long as they enjoy the liberty granted to them by Edward the Confessor.

1318. ‡ Grant to Robert Fitz-Walter, of lands in Pennington, for the service of repairing the organ and clock in the Cathedral of Exeter.

1322. § The military age fixed between sixteen and sixty years, in an expedition against the Scots.

1360. || Paving of the King's highway from the gate of Temple Bar to the Abbey at Westminster.

1364. ¶ Order for arresting painters, to work in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, to which artists of every description were liable, as often as the king required their services.

* 37 Hen. III. m. 15. *Quod dominici canes Abbatis de Stoneleigh ac. omn. grangiar. suar. infra metas forestæ, non expeditentur.*

† 39 Hen. III. m. 12.

‡ 11 Edw. II. m. 5. *R. concess. Rob. Fitz-Walter tenem. in Pennington pro servitio pulsandi campanas, et reparanda organi et horologia in eccles. Exon.*

§ 15 Edw. II. p. 2. m. 4. *De hominibus inter ætates 16 et 60 annor. congregandi pro repuls. Scotor. 2 Julij apud Eborac.*

|| 33 Edw. III. m. 29. *Pavagium pro regali viâ à Porta de Temple-bar usq. ad Portam Abbathiæ de Westmon.*

¶ 37 Edw. III. m. 10. *De pictoribus arrestandis pro capellâ Sancti Stephani apud Westmon.*

1369. * Safe conduct to certain artificers, clock-makers, to exercise their craft within this realm. They were probably Germans.

1415. † Henry Barton, the King's valet, appointed keeper of the clock in the Palace of Westminster, with a fee of sixpence a-day.

1375, m. 31. ‡ It was necessary to procure the royal licence to embattle the towers of churches.

1382. § John Evesham, of the King's valets, appointed keeper of the lions, and one of the valets at arms, within the Tower of London, during the King's pleasure. His predecessor was Robert Bower; but the office is of higher antiquity.

1408. || A royal warrant to arrest all conjurors, fortune-tellers, &c.

1451. ¶ For delivering a large cannon, called "Mile-end," to Sir John Stanley, for the siege of Hornby Castle.

* Edw. III. m. 15. *Salv. conduct. pro certis operatoribus horologiorum, venientibus inf. regnum, utendi artificio suo.*

† 1 Hen. V. 2. p. m. 7. *H. Barton valectus regis habet custodiam horologii in Palat. Westm. pro vitâ suâ cum feodo 6 den. per diem.*

‡ 48 Edw. III. m. 31. *De campanili de Harpham kernellando.*—3 Ric. II. 3 p. m. 14. "*Kernellare et castrum inde facere.*"—13 Edw. IV. m. 10. "*Imbattelare ac turres facere.*"

§ 5 Ric. II. m. 16. *J. Evesham, &c. custos Leonum ac valectus armor. Regis infra turr. London.*—15 Edw. III. 2. p. m. 3. *Rob. Bowyer custos Leonum.*

|| 7 Hen. IV. m. 22. *De arrestando sortilegos, maleficos, incantatores, negromanticos, divinatores, ariolos, et phitones, infra dioces. Lincoln.*

¶ 29 Hen. VI. m. 5. *De conducendo quend. cannonem vocatum "Mile-end," &c.*

1415. * Petition for payment to Gerard Strong for a cannon, weighing 4480 lbs., and for gunpowder.

1437. † Grant of two hogsheads of wine yearly to Joan Astley, the King's nurse.

1445. ‡ The same to Mother Fosbrooke, the King's dry-nurse.

1441. § Licence to John Schiedame to export tin without custom, on account of his having invented a method to make salt at Winchelsea. E. M. S.

SINGULAR INCIDENTS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,
AND CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS, FROM THE YEAR
1400 TO THE YEAR 1548.

The Apostate Jewess.

ELIZABETH, a Jewish convert, the daughter of Rabbi Moses, was allowed two-pence per day, in 1403, for being deserted by her family on account of her change as to religion.—*Rym. Fæd.*

It seems strange that, in 1404, the commons, after having vindicated their own privileges as to menial

* 2 Hen. V. *Petitio Gerardi Sprong pro solutione pro cannon ponderant. 4480lbs., et pro pulvere bombardico.*

† 15 Hen. VI. *Pro Johanna Astley, nutrice Reg. de concess. 2 doliorum vini annuatim.*

‡ 23 Hen. VI. *Pro matre Fosbrooke nutrice siccd Reg. idem.*

§ 19 Hen. VI. *Pro J. Schiedame de concess. traducendi stannum sine custumâ, intuitû inventionis salis faciendi juxta Winchelsea.*

servants, &c. with great spirit, should, with wonderful inconsistency, petition the crown that it would direct the lords to examine into a false return for Rutland, and punish the offenders.—*Rot. Subsid.*

In 1406, Richard Clithero, knight of the shire for Kent, being ordered to sea as 'admiral of the south and west,' the Kentishmen petitioned parliament that Robert Clifford, the other knight, might appear in both their names, as if both were actually present." And this odd request was granted.—*Rot. Parli. apud Carte.*

In 1408, archbishop Arundel declared, in a preface to his canons, that 'the pope was vicegerent of heaven.' 'Extraordinary language,' says Dr. Henry, 'to be used just at a time when the two existing popes were consigning each other to Satan, and were both declared, by the Council of Pisa, contumacious heretics.'

In the same year we find, to the credit of English sculptors, that Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell, and Thomas Poppe, carried over to Bretagne an alabaster monument, which they had executed for Duke John IV., and erected it in the cathedral of Nantes.—*Rym. Fæd.*

Death of Chaucer.

ABOUT this period (1408) died Geoffrey Chaucer, whom we call the first English poet. In 1539 he became page to Edward III., married Philippa, the

daughter of Catherine Swynford, (the future wife of John of Gaunt,) and is said to have had a very large income. As, however, he took a warm part on the side of the reformer Wickliffe, he suffered when the Lollards were persecuted; and in, or about 1382, he was obliged to return to the continent, whence, venturing back to England to raise money, he was seized and imprisoned. The end of his life, however, was spent in ease and plenty, at Donnington Castle, Berks, where he composed (as tradition says) some of his finest poems. John of Gaunt was then in power. Chaucer, as we find in *Rymer's Fædera*, received a pitcher of wine every day from the cellars of Edward III. He had likewise from Richard II. a grant of a hogshead of wine every year; and this was continued by Henry IV. So well were the English kings convinced of the truth of Horace:—

Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt,

Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus.

It was in or about 1410, that a Lord Beauchamp, travelling through the East, was hospitably received at Jerusalem by the Soldan's lieutenant, who, 'hearing that he was descended from the famous Guy, earl of Warwick, whose story they had read in books written in their own language, invited him to his palace, and, royally feasting him, presented him with three precious stones of great value, besides divers clothes of silk and gold given to his servants.'—*Rous apud Dugdale*.

In 1412, an act was passed giving the certificate

of a justice of the peace, in case of riots, the same force as the presentment. The first instance of extraordinary power granted to this respectable class of magistrates.—*Barrington*.

The Title of Esquire.

IN 1413, Dr. Fuller remarks that John Golope was the first person who assumed the title of Esquire; and that until the end of Henry the Sixth's reign, such distinctions were not used, except in law proceedings. Yet Ordoericus Vitalis, as early as A. D. 1124, speaks of the earl of Mellent, who, endeavouring to escape from the troops of Henry Beaucherc, and being seized by a countryman, bribed him to set him free, and to shave him, 'in the guise of an esquire'—*Instar Armigeri*, by which means he eluded his pursuers.

Dearth of Surgeons.

1417. It appears, from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that Henry authorized 'John Morstede, to press as many surgeons as he thought necessary for the French expedition, together with persons to make their instruments.' It is also true, and appears in the same book of records, that with the army which won the day at Agincourt, there had landed only one surgeon, the same John Morstede, who indeed did engage to find fifteen more for the army, three of whom, however, were to act as archers!! With such a professional scarcity, what must have been the state of the wounded on the day of battle?

In the same year the king, convinced that Holbourn 'Alta via regia in Holbourn,' was a deep and perilous road, ordered two ships to be laden with stones at his own cost, each twenty tons in burthen, in order to repair it. This seems to have been the first paving in London.—*Rym. Fæd.*

In 1418, iron balls were not used for cannon, since we find an order for making, at Maidstone, in Kent, 7000 stone bullets for the king's ordnance.—*Ibid.*

In 1421, loud complaints having been made by the inferior clergy as to the inequality of their stipends, it was ordained, by the superior convocation, that each bishop's family-barber should shave each priest who held his orders from their bishop, without payment.—*Wilkins' Consilia.*

Cows, in 1425, were valued at about sixteen modern shillings each.—*Maddox, form. Angl.*

The Parliament of Bats.

1426. The parliament which met in February was called the "Parliament of Bats," since the senators, being ordered to wear no swords, attended arms with clubs or bats. Their meeting too was held at Leicester, to avoid the tumult of a London mob.

Qualifications of Voters for Knights of the Shires.

1429. An important change was made as to the qualifications of the voters for knights of the shires. These were now obliged to prove themselves worth

forty shillings per annum. Before this every freeholder might vote, and the vast concourse of elections brought on riots and murders. Seventy pounds would in modern days be barely an equivalent for our ancestors' forty shillings. The freeholders were at the same time directed to chuse two of the 'fittest and most discreet knights resident in their county; or, if none could be found,' notable esquires, gentlemen by birth, and qualified to be made knights, but no yeomen, or persons of inferior rank.—*Henry, from the Statutes.*

In 1431, Holingshed relates a melancholy tale of an ungrateful Breton, who murdered his kind hostess, near Aldgate. Falling, however, into the hands of the women in the neighbourhood, 'they so bethwacked him with stones, staves, kennel-doong, and other things,' says our chronicler, 'that they laid him astretching, and rid him of life.'

The Monk of Bury.

1431. Nearly about this time flourished John Lydgate, "The Monk of Bury." He was avowedly a scholar and imitator of Chaucer, for whom he always expressed a most awful reverence. He spent his life in the profession of a tutor, travelled to France and Italy with improvement, and was much esteemed as a scholar and poet. If he had not the fire of Chaucer, he exceeded him in smoothness of language; and the extreme humility of the following lines must speak in favour of the modern poet:—

" I am a Monk, by my profession,
 Of Bury, call'd John Lydgate by my name,
 And wear a habit of perfection
 Although my life agree not with the same ;
 That meddle shuld with things spiritual
 As I must needs confess unto you all.
 But seeing that I did in this proceed
 At his commands, whom I could not refuse,
 I humbly do beseech all those that read
 Or leisure have this story to peruse,
 If any fault therein they find to be,
 Or error that committed is by me,
 That they will of their gentleness, take pain,
 The rather to correct and mend the same,
 Than rashly to condemn it with disdain ;
 For well I wot, it is not without blame :
 Because I know the verse therein is wrong,
 As being some too short, and some too long."

Mr. Wharton writes favourably of Lydgate. " No poet," he says, " seems to have possessed a greater versatility of talents. He moves with equal ease in every mode of composition. His hymns and his ballads have the same degree of merit; and whether his subject be the life of a hermit or a hero, of St. Austin or Guy of Warwick, ludicrous or legendary, a history or an allegory, he writes with ease and perspicuity."

The following lines of Lydgate sound too modern for the age he lived in:—

' Lyke as the dewe descendeth on the rose
 With silver drops.'

The verses, too, in which Lydgate describes the reign of Saturn, have much harmony, strength, and dignity :—

“Fortitude, then, stode stedfast in his might
 Defendyd widows, cherish'd chastitye;
 Knightehode in prowes, gave so cear a light
 Girt with his sword of truth and equitye.”

It is unlucky that Lydgate's favourite ballad, entitled, “London Lickpenny,” is too long to be inserted here. It gives a faithful picture of the metropolis in the fifteenth century. Among other circumstances, strawberries and cherries are spoken of as being very common.

A bad season in 1434 : wheat was sold as high as 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* (modern money) per quarter. It soon fell to 10*s.* 8*d.* which seems to have been nearly the medium price of that commodity.—*Chron. Pret.*

Wine was then at the price of two modern shillings per gallon.—*Ibid.*

In the same year licences were granted by the king to no less than 2433 pilgrims to visit the shrine of St. James, at Comportello. Fortunately the attraction of Thomas-a-Becket's tomb turned the balance of travellers in favour of England.—*Rym. Fæd.*

In 1436, we find the Bishop of Holar, in Iceland, whimsically enough, hiring the master of a London merchant-ship to sail to Iceland as his proxy, and to perform the necessary visitations of his see ; the good prelate dreading, in person, to encounter the boisterous northern ocean.—*Rym. Fæd.*

In 1439, Philip Malpas and Robert Marshall, sheriffs of London, were obliged to restore an enormous criminal whom they had torn from the

sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and sent to Newgate. It was not till 1457 that a check was given to those odious privileges.—*Stow*.

About this time it appears (says Bishop Fleetwood) that a clergyman might be supported with decency for ten modern pounds per annum.—*Chron. Pret.*

Twenty pounds per annum was, in 1439, settled by statute as the qualification for a country justice of the peace.—*Pub. Act.*

The order of Viscount was established, in 1440, by Henry VI. John Lord Beaumont was the first created.—*Selden*.

Provisions sold thus in 1444 : Wheat, per quarter, 8s. 6d. ; a fat ox, 3l. 3s. 4d. ; a hog, 6s. ; a goose, 6d. ; pigeons, 8d. a dozen, reckoned in modern money.

In 1443, Dr. Thomas Gascoigne was chancellor of Oxford. He seems to have felt deeply the profligacy with which ecclesiastical affairs were conducted ; for thus does he express himself : “ I knew a certain illiterate ideot, the son of a mad knight, who, for being the companion, or rather the fool, of the son of a great family of the royal blood, was made arch-deacon of Oxford before he was eighteen years old ; and got, soon after, two rich rectories and twelve prebends. I asked one day what he thought of learning : ‘ I despise it,’ said he ; ‘ I have better livings than you great Doctors, and believe as much as any of you.’ What do you believe ? said I : ‘ I believe,’ said he, ‘ that

there are three Gods in one person. I believe all that God believes.'

In 1447, the freeholders of Yorkshire regained their right of electing knights, which for near forty years had been usurped. About this time the following were the usual wages of servants, reckoned in the money of the age, which was exactly twice the weight of that in use in the eighteenth century: chief carter, 1*l.* and diet; 4*s.* for clothes. Common husbandmen, 15*s.* and board; 4*s.* for clothes. Women servants, 10*s.* and diet; 4*s.* for clothes. Bailiff of husbandry, 1*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for wages yearly, besides his board, and 5*s.* for clothes.—*Chron. Pret.*

In 1449, Henry IV. granted a protection to Robert Bolton 'for transubstantiating imperfect metals into pure gold and silver, by the art or science of philosophy.'—*Rym. Fæd.*

Henry indeed had need of such helps, the crown revenue in that year only producing 10,000 modern pounds. In the same year hay sold at 7*s.* 1*d.* per load; a swan, 6*s.*; a goose, 6*d.*; three thousand red herrings, 3*l.* 2*s.* all modern money.—*Chr. Pret.*

In 1454, Sir Stephen Forster was Lord Mayor of London. He had been long in prison and penury on account of his inordinate profuseness. It chanced that a most fantastical widow, who knew not how to get rid of her immense wealth, saw him begging at the gate; she admired his fine person, learnt his history, paid his debts, and married him; asking of him only this one favour, that he would lavish away her fortune as fast as he could. For-

ster, probably from perverseness, became a sober husband and a prudent manager, and only expended large sums in adding a chapel and other advantageous appendages to Ludgate, where he had suffered so many hardships.—*Stow, Middleton, &c.*

The next Lord Mayor, Sir John Norman, draper, was the first contriver of the water procession in the Lord Mayor's Show ; and so pleased were the citizens with the improvement, that they wrote and sung a ballad to celebrate his fame. It began with

' Row thy boat, Norman,' &c.

Stow.

In 1454, an act of parliament notices ' that there had used formerly to be six or eight attornies only for Suffolk, Norfolk, and Norwich together ; that this number was now increased to more than eighty, most part of whom, being not of sufficient knowledge, come to fairs, &c. inciting the people to suits for small trespasses, &c. Wherefore, there shall be hereafter but six for Norfolk, six for Suffolk, and two for the city of Norwich.'—*Pub. Acts.*

The elections of the Lancastrian parliament, in 1459, had scarcely the semblance of decency. The members were pointed out by the king, in letters under the privy seal, and these the sheriffs returned. For this outrageous insult on the constitution, an act of indemnity was obtained.—*Parl. Hist.*

In the reign of Henry VI. the commons exchanged their method of petitioning the king, and having their petitions formed into acts, into the

more manly plan of drawing up their requests in the form of acts ; which, having been approved of by the lords, and consented to by the king, became firm laws.—*Blackstone's Comment.*

All historians seem to agree in affirming that, in 1464, twenty ewes and five rams from the Coltswood hills, in Gloucestershire, were transported, by licence of the king, to Castile, and that from these are descended all those sheep which produce the fine wool of Spain.—*Trussel, &c.*

The tale is probably exaggerated ; yet the English sheep might be of service in improving the Spanish breed.—*Anderson.*

In 1466, the salary of Thomas Littleton, Judge of the King's Bench, amounted to 136*l.* 13. 4*d.* modern money ; besides about 17*l.* 7*s.* for his fur gown, robes, &c.—*Rym. Fæd.*

The execrable practice of torture was now in its zenith of employment. We find Cornelius, a shoemaker, tormented by fire in 1468.—*W. de Wyrcest.*

In the tower there existed a horrid 'brake,' or rack, called the Duke of Exeter's daughter.

Richard Carter, an adept, received, in 1468, a licence to practise alchemy.—*Rym. Fæd.*

In 1468, the now opulent shires of Essex and Hertford were so bare of substantial inhabitants, that the sheriff could only find Colchester and Maldon in Essex, and not one town in Hertfordshire, which could send burgesses. Hence, and from other instances, it appears, that it lay in the choice of the sheriff whether or no a town should send any

representative. Nor is there any instance of complaint, either of the house of commons, or of the towns, against the sheriff for any partiality on this score.

In the same year, many jurymen of London were openly disgraced, by being exposed in the public streets, with papers on their heads, declaring that they had been tampered with by the parties to the suit.—*Stow*.

The year 1474 shines in the records of chirurgery as the epoch of a most important discovery, that of lithotomy. A Parisian archer, much tortured by the stone, and condemned to death for a capital offence, offered to submit to the experiment. It succeeded, and his example tempted others to venture the operation. It does not, however, appear that, during the fifteenth century, the knowledge of this great secret was extended beyond France.—*Monstrellet. Villaret*.

Introduction of Printing into England.

THE same date (1474) is also remarkable in the annals of literature for the introduction of printing into England by William Caxton. He was born in the 'Wealde' of Kent, and served as an apprentice to Robert Large, an eminent Mercer in London. He travelled abroad as an agent in the trading line during thirty years, and had the honour in being trusted, in concert with Mr. R. Whetchill, to form a treaty of commerce, &c., between Edward IV. and the Duke of Burgundy, whose wife, the Lady

Margaret, of York, was Caxton's patroness. He was also befriended by the Earl of Worcester and Earl Rivers. He translated and continued, under the title of '*Fructus Temporem*,' a Chronicle of England, and wrote many other works. In 1491 he died, and was buried at Cambden, Gloucestershire. At the close of an inscription to Caxton's honour, are the following lines :

' Modre of Merci, shyldre him from th' oribul fynd,
And bring him lyffe eternal that never hath ynd.'

Caxton's earliest book was the French "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes," printed abroad, between the years 1464 and 1467. His earliest work with a date, at London, or rather Westminster, is "The Game and Play of Chesse." He printed in all about 40 books.

John Kaye, the first Poet Laureate of England.

IN the reign of Edward IV. the first regular poet laureat appears. His name was John Kay, and although he has left us none of his poetical compositions, he has given to posterity a translation of the Siege of Rhodes, from the Latin: this he dedicates to the King, and styles himself 'hys humble Poete Laureate.'

Liberal sentiment of Henry VII.

ONE sentiment, which appears in a commission granted by Henry VII. in 1486, to his almoner, whom he sent to Naples concerning a commercial treaty, deserves general approbation. 'The earth

being the common parent of us all, what can be more desirable and praiseworthy than, by means of commerce, to communicate her various productions to all her children?'—*Rym. Fæd.*

Feudal Strife.

AN event, in 1493, evinced how little the vindictive spirit of the feudal times was subdued. A family emulation had subsisted between the Stanleys, of Pepe, in Staffordshire, and the Chetwynds, of Ingestre. Sir Humphrey Stanley was one of the knights of the body to Henry VII.; Sir William Chetwynd, one of his gentlemen ushers. The former, as it is said, through envy, inveigled Sir William out of his house, by means of a counterfeit letter from a neighbour; and, while he was passing over Tixall heath, caused him to be attacked by twenty armed men and slain on the spot; Sir Humphrey passing with a train at that instant, under pretence of hunting, but, in fact, to glut his revenge with the sight. It does not appear that justice overtook the assassin, notwithstanding the widow of Sir William invoked it. Probably Sir Humphrey had no property worthy of confiscation.—*Pennant.*

Robert Fabian, Poet and Historian.

IN 1493 flourished Robert Fabian, who, though a mercer and sheriff of London, is ranged among the poets and historians of the day. He was said to be the most facetious and most learned of the mercers and aldermen in his century, and remark-

able among laymen for skill in the Latin tongue. Mr. Warton observes that, in his Chronicle, he paid more attention to the recording each Guildhall dinner, and city pageant, than to the most glorious victories of his countrymen in France. This was not unnatural.

Price of Wheat.

WHEAT sold in 1494, at 6s. the quarter in London, a remarkably low price.—*Chron. Pret.*

Singular state of Preservation of a Dead Body.

IN 1495, while digging for a foundation for the church of St. Maryhill, in London, the body of Alice Hackney was discovered; it had been buried 175 years, and yet the skin was whole, and the joints pliable. It was kept above ground four days without annoyance, and then reinterred.—*Holinsh.*

At this period, too, hay was sold at 10s. the load, on account of a severe drought.

'A great Marvel seen in Scotland.'

'ABOUT this time (the beginning of the sixteenth century) there was a great marvel seen in Scotland. A bairn was born, reckoned to be a man child, but from the waist up was two fair persons, with all members pertayning to two bodies; to wit, two heads, well-eyed, well-eared, and well-handed. The two bodies, the one's back was fast to the other's, but from the waist down they were but one personage; and it could not be known by the ingene of men from which of the bodies the legs, &c.

proceeded. Notwithstanding the King's Majesty caused great care and diligence on the up-bringing of both bodies; caused nourish them, and learn them to sing and play on instruments of music. Who within short time became very ingenious and cunning in the art of music, whereby they could play and sing two parts, the one the treble and the other the tenor, which was very dulce and melodious to hear; the common people (who treated them also) wondered that they could speak diverse and sundry languages, that is to say, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, English, and Irish. Their two bodies long continued to the age of twenty-eight years, and the one continued long before the other, which was dolorous and heavy to the other; for which, when many required of the other to be merry, he answered, "How can I be merry which have my true marrow as a dead carrion about my back, which was wont to sing and play with me: when I was sad he would give me comfort, and I would do the like to him. But now I have nothing but dolour of the having so heavy a burthen, dead, cold, and unsavoury, on my back, which taketh all earthly pleasure from me in this present life; therefore I pray to God Almighty to deliver me out of this present life, that we may be laid and dissolved in the earth, wherefrom we came,' &c.—

Lindsay, of Pitscottie.

Buchanan, who relates the same strange tale, avers that he received it from 'many honest and credible persons, who saw the prodigy with their

own eyes.' He adds that the two bodies discovered different tastes and appetites; that they would frequently disagree and quarrel; and sometimes would consult each other, and concert measures for the good of both; that when any hurt was done to the lower parts, each upper body felt pain; but that when the injury was above the junction, then one body only was affected. This monster, he writes, lived 28 years, but died wretchedly; one part expiring some days before the other, which, half putrified, pined away by degrees.—*Hist. Scoll.*

IN 1500, there was a great plague, which shewed its virulence chiefly in London, where 30,000 persons are said to have perished within a short space of time.—*Holinshed.*

IN 1503, January 24, the first stone of Henry the Seventh's chapel was laid. The same year, Henry conferred the name of "Merchant Taylors" on the Taylor's company, of which he was a member, as many kings have been.

Death of General Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

IN 1513, died the most powerful baron and active soldier of his age, General Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. He had been, during 30 years, at different times, chief governor of Ireland, and was too potent to be set aside, otherwise his strong attachment to the house of York would probably have been his ruin. The untameable spirit of the Earl sometimes involved him in trouble, from which he was extri-

cated by a lucky bluntness ; as when once, when charged before Henry VIII. with setting fire to the cathedral of Cashel, 'I own it,' said the Earl, 'but I never would have done it had I not believed that the Archbishop was in it.' The King laughed, and pardoned the ludicrous culprit. The Bishop of Meath was his bitterest foe. He accused him to Henry of divers misdeeds, and closed his accusation with, 'Thus, my liege, you see that all Ireland cannot rule the Earl.' 'Then,' said the perverse monarch, 'the Earl shall rule all Ireland,' and instantly made him lord-deputy. The English loved the Earl because he was brave and generous, and because his good humour equalled his valour. Once, when he was in a furious paroxysm, a domestic who knew his temper, whispered in his ear, 'My lord, yonder fellow has betted me a fine horse, that I dare not take a hair from your lordship's beard ; I pray, my lord, win me that wager.' The Earl's features relaxed, and he said to the petitioner, 'Take the hair then, but if thou exceedest thy demand, my fist shall meet thy head.'

This Earl was ordered to discontinue his motto, 'Crom a boo,' as it caused feuds between the noble Irish families.—*Collins, MS. relative to the Fitzgeralds, &c.*

IN the same year, (1513) the corporation of Surgeons (consisting of 12, a number then, as it appears, thought equal to the care of the metropolis,) petitioned parliament to be exempted from

bearing arms, or serving on juries or parish offices, and succeeded in their request.—*Pub. Acts.*

In the same year, the apprentices of London, thinking that the inhabitants of Islington, Hoxton, and Shoreditch, had too much lessened their places of exercise and recreation, by enclosing their grounds, determined to right themselves, and, on a signal given by a man in disguise, who ran through the streets, crying ‘Spades! spades!’ they rushed in a body, with proper instruments, to devoted parishes, and levelled every fence. The lord-mayor of London was sharply reprimanded for suffering this illegal proceeding, and warned to take better care in future.—*Herbert.*

In the year 1522, Pietro Torregiano, a great sculptor, (who had resided long in England, and who with the turbulence of Henry’s temper, had also adopted his religion,) starved himself to death in the prison of the Seville Inquisition, to which he had been sent for maiming an image that he had formed of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Henry had given him vast presents, of which he used to boast, and, as a brother artist says, ‘Ogni giorno ragonava delle sue bravure, con quelli bestie di quelli Inglesi.’ He valued himself on having once struck the great Michael Angelo, with so good a will, that he felt the bone of his nose yield to the pressure of his knuckles. The superb tomb of Henry VII.; that of Margaret of Richmond, in Westminster abbey; and that of Dr. Young, in the Roll’s chapel, are done by Torregiano.—*Walpole’s Anecdotes, &c.*

Death of William Lily, &c.

IN 1525 died William Lily, an industrious and useful scholar. He was born at Odiam, Hants, in 1466, and bred at Magdalene College, Oxon. Thence, prompted by the bigotry of his age, he went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. To Lily this wild expedition was a source of science; residing five years in Rhodes, he became, by the assistance of some learned refugees from the capital of the Turks, a complete master of the Greek tongue; and, by studying the Roman classics under two eminent professors in Italy, he gained a perfect knowledge of the Latin. He now returned to London, where a school, in which he taught rhetoric, poetry, and the languages, soon attained to great fame. In 1511, Lily was appointed by his friend and patron, Dean Colet, the first master of St. Paul's school, which he had just then built and endowed; where he presided during the rest of his life with great reputation. He fell a martyr to the plague. In the composition of his well-known Latin Grammer, he was assisted by Erasmus, Dean Collet, and Thomas Robinson, all celebrated linguists, and the haughty Wolsey condescended to write a recommendatory preface.—*Leland, Bale, &c. Apud Henry.*

Thomas Lynacre, or Linacer, &c.

In the same year, (1525,) deceased Thomas Lynacre, or Linacer, one of the most polite scholars of the age. He was well descended, born in 1460, at Canterbury, and bred at All Souls' College, Oxford,

whence he travelled to Italy. At Bologna he studied under Angelo Politian, whom, he is said, to have surpassed in pure latinity. At Florence he was much regarded by the Duke Lorenzo, and became perfect in Greek, by the assistance of Demetrius, a Constantinopolitan fugitive. He studied philosophy at Rome under Hermolaus Barbarus; and on his return to England was successively appointed physician to Henry VII. and VIII., Prince Edward, and the Princess Mary. He translated many difficult pieces from the Greek of Galen; gave lectures on medicine at Oxford, to which university he was a benefactor, and founder of the College of Physicians in London. Not long before his decease he took holy orders; for this several reasons are given, but none satisfactory. Sir John Cheke says, that a little before his death Linacre began to read the New Testament; but, struck with the purity of its precepts, he hurled it away in a passion, crying, "either this is not the gospel, or we are not Christians!"—*Aiken*.

The damask-rose is said to have been introduced into England by this eminent physician, not long before his decease.

In 1523, the astrologers having prophesied incessant rains and fearful floods, the Abbot of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, built a house on Harrow the Hill, and stored it with provisions. Many persons followed his example, and repaired to high places. However, no extraordinary floods appear.

ing, the disappointed soothsayers pacified the people by owning themselves mistaken just one hundred years in their calculation.—*Hall*.

1527. The first Scotch martyr to the doctrines of the Reformation, was brought to the stake. Mr. Patrick Hamilton, noble by birth, and allied to royalty, as being nephew to the Earl of Arran. During his travels in Germany, he imbibed the opinions of Luther so deeply, that he could not, on his return to Scotland, resist the temptation of publicly expressing his aversion to Popery. In consequence he was tried and condemned as a heretic ; and his execution was accompanied with peculiar circumstances of cruelty. He was only in the 23d year of his age, and had the compassion of every spectator.

Very soon after this, Friar Alexander Seaton, the king's confessor, having preached several sermons on the necessity of repentance, and a holy life, and not having mentioned pilgrimages, prayers to saints, &c. was reprimanded by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and charged with having styled the non-preaching prelates, Dumb Dogs'. The friar replied with sharpness, and ridiculed his accusers, for confounding him with Isaiah and St. Paul, who had been quoted by him, and were alone to answer for the harsh expressions ; finding, however, that the king looked on him with unusual coolness, he repaired privately to England, where he found protection in the family of the Duchess of Sussex.—*Spottiswood*.

In February 1528, the Londoners were amused by a battle between a Dutch and a French vessel, fought close to London Bridge, to which the former had actually pursued the latter. Walsingham, lieutenant of the Tower, boarded and seized both the combatants, and the matter was left to the council to determine.—*Holinshed*.

In 1530 Mr. William Hawkins, (father of the great navigator, Sir John Hawkins,) fitted out a stout ship, the Paul of Plymouth, and sailing to the coast of Guinea and Brazil, began a practice, which, although it has since been very profitable to his country, has covered it with disgrace; that is, of seizing the unfortunate natives of Africa, and transporting them to foreign shores, there to end their days in slavery.

Gipsies.

In 1531 the wandering bands, styled 'Gipsies,' were so numerous and noxious in England, that an act was passed to banish them from the realm, on pain of imprisonment and confiscation of property. The Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, a few years afterwards, took a different method to get rid of these hated vagabonds, by ordering all sheriffs, and other magistrates, to assist John Faw, 'Lord and Earl of Little Egypt,' to collect together his subjects, the Gipsies, (many of whom had rebelled against Faw, under the guidance of one Sebastian Lalow,) that he might carry them back to their own country, as he had engaged to do.—*Pub. Acts*.

*Two Priests and a Lawyer burnt, and a Cook
boiled, &c.*

THIS year, 1531, two priests and a lawyer suffered death by fire in Smithfield, on account of some disturbances between the superior and inferior clergy. And a cook, named Richard Rous, boiled to death in the same place, by an *ex post facto* law, for poisoning seventeen persons in the Bishop of Rochester's family.—*Stow, &c.*

Death of an elegant but unfortunate Scholar.

IN 1532 died an elegant but unfortunate scholar, Richard Paice; who, from a low extraction in Worcestershire, had, by his great talent, under the successive patronage of the prelates, Langton and Bambridge, become Dean of St. Paul's, secretary to the king, and frequently his envoy to foreign parts. He had prepared himself for these great employments by long study, and by a particular attention to languages at Padua, and other Italian universities. From an embassy to Venice, he returned to England sick, but laden with kind recommendations from the Doge. Soon after his arrival at London he fell into disgrace with Cardinal Wolsey; soon he sank beneath the frown of that capricious protector; was sent to the tower, and in 1532 died raving mad. He was an almost universal linguist, and wrote many curious treatises; one of which is entitled, 'De fructu quæ ex Doctrina percipitur;' 'of the profit which may accrue from learning.'—*Bale, Pitts.*

Exhumation and burning of a Body, &c.

IN 1532 the body of William Tracie, a gentleman of Gloucester, (who had spoken lightly in his last will, of prayers to saints, masses for the good of the soul, &c.) was disintered and burnt, as belonging to a heretic. This brutal transaction displeased the king; he summoned Dr. Parker, Chancellor of Worcester, who had managed the prosecution; and finding that no writ, 'de heretico cumburendo,' had been applied for, made the zealous priest pay 300*l.* for his delinquency.—*For.*

St. James's Palace built.

IN 1532 St. James's palace was built by Henry: (it had been an hospital for fourteen leprous maidens:) he added to it the remains of York palace, Whitehall, and enclosed the whole (now St. James's park) with a wall.—*Hall.*

Short Hair and Beards, &c.

IN 1535 Henry made his courtiers cut their hair short, and did so himself. He also brought into fashion the wearing of beards, and the knotting (probably curling) of them.

Sir Edmund Knevet's Sentence, &c.

IN June 1540 Sir Edmund Knevet was adjudged to lose his right hand, for striking 'Moster Clere of Norfolk,' servant to the Lord Surry, within the limits of the court. All was prepared; 'the servant of the wood-yard, with his mallet and blocke, the maister cook with his knife, the seryeant of the larder to set the knife right on the joint, the

seryeant farrier with the searing irons, the seryeant of the poultrie with a cocke, which cocke should have its head smitten of on the same blocke, and with the same knife,' &c. and poor Sir Edmund only requested that the king would take his *left*, and spare his *right* hand, as *that* might 'yet do good service to his grace,' when happily he received, on a sudden, his full pardon for limb and goods.—*Holinshed*.

Anatomy encouraged.

It is said that the earliest law enacted in any country, for the promotion of anatomical knowledge, was one that passed in 1540. It allowed the united companies of barbers and surgeons to have yearly the bodies of four criminals to dissect.—*Barrington on Statutes*.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, Poet.

IN 1541 died of a fever, which he caught by too earnestly attending in sultry weather on an ambassador of the Emperor, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder, an elegant poet, and a highly-accomplished gentleman. He was born of an honourable family in Kent, at Allington Castle, which, he is said by Fuller, to have repaired and beautified. Camden says he was 'splendidè doctus.' Wood calls him 'the delight of the muses.' Ascham, Leland, and Sir Thomas Chalmer, are loud in his praise; and Earl Henry of Surrey held him as his friend, and wrote his epitaph. He had at times great

weight with his capricious king, and sometimes he felt his resentment.

Henry delighted in Wyatt's conversation. An apologue of his about 'curs baiting a butcher's dog,' is said to have caused the fall of Wolsey. Again, when Clement delayed the divorce of Henry and Catherine, 'Lord,' said Sir Thomas, 'that a man cannot repent him of his sins without the Pope's leave!' The king heard him, it is said, and determined on the separation from papal authority. When Henry hesitated as to seizing the church lands, he was encouraged by a *bon mot* of Wyatt: 'Butter,' said he, 'the rooks' nest, and they will not trouble you;' referring to a distribution of abbey lands among the nobility. Though attached to the Reformation, he was once tried for corresponding with Cardinal Pole; immediately after which, he was made sheriff of Kent, and rewarded for his gallantry against the rebels of that country. On the whole, his family, though brave and well-meaning, were unfortunate. His father, Sir Henry, would have been starved in the Tower, had not a cat, with uncommon fidelity, brought him a pigeon: Sir Thomas, the elder, was tried for his life; and Sir Thomas, the younger, was executed for treason, in the reign of Mary.—*Walpole's Misc. Antiquities.*

Early in 1542, Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland. Soon after, he sent to the Tower a re-

lease for Sir Arthur Plantagenet, (Lord Lisle, natural son of Edward IV.) accompanied by a diamond ring, as a token of returning favour. But the prisoner, unable to bear this reverse of fortune, expired through too much joy. He had been confined on account of a groundless charge concerning Calais.—*Hollinshed*.

Injunction against reading the Bible.

IN 1542-3 a statute passed to prevent the translation of the Bible, by Tindal, from being read by 'women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving-men of the degree of yeomen or under.' 'Noble-women or gentlewomen' might read the Bible alone, but not others. 'The chancellor, the captains of the warres, the king's justices, and recorders of townes,' were allowed not only to read, but to expound. It seems that the magistrates were then used to begin their charges by a text of Scripture; and that the 'captaine of the warres' (nearly the same in rank as our colonel) were accustomed to preach and expound to their soldiers, as there were no regimental chaplains.

The activity with which the government of Elizabeth was inspired, seems to have transfused itself into the breasts of every rank among her people. We observe those who had superior powers distinguishing themselves by voyages of discovery, by forming new commercial connexions, and by endeavouring to plant colonies in distant climes, while those whose abilities took a mechanical

turn, enriched their country and themselves by enlarging the circle of its manufactures*.

Origin of the manufacture of Knives.

THE manufacture of knives, now so widely extended, appears to have commenced in London, A. D. 1563, under the auspices of one Thomas Matthews, of Fleet Bridge: this, however, was rather a revival than a new manufacture, since, in the days of Chaucer, Sheffield was, as it still continues to be, famous for its cutlery: 'A Sheffield whittle bare he in his hose†.'

Origin of the manufacture of Needles.

THE manufacture of needles‡ was commenced in 1566, and directed by Elias Grouse, a German.

* Before the 16th century ends, we find that luxury had obtained a firm footing in the house of the mechanic. 'We were shewn,' says a traveller, 'at the house of Leonard Smith, a tailor, a most perfect looking-glass, ornamented with gold, pearls, silver, and velvet, so richly as to be estimated at 500 *ecus de soleil*.—*Paul Hentzner*.

Add to this the evidence of Fynes Moryson, who observes that, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, there were few among the better sort of the English gentry and traders, that had not cupboards silver plate to the value of £200.

† Chaucer's Works. Reve's Tales.

‡ Needles had appeared in Cheapside during the reign of Mary. A Spanish negro had made them, but as he refused to discover his art, the nation received little benefit from him. The pin had been known in England ever since the close of Henry the Eighth's reign; when it had afforded to the ladies a pleasant substitute for ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, clasps, hooks and eyes, and skewers made of wood, brass, silver, and gold. This minute implement was thought sufficiently important to merit a parliamentary regulation. Accordingly, by Stat. 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 13, all 'pinnes'

Felt Hats.

IN 1571 felt hats were not made in England, as a statute was then enacted, which ordered an English woollen cap to be worn in preference, by every person above the age of seven, on pain of forfeiting 3s. 4d.; ladies, lords, gentlewomen, &c. are excepted. This restriction, we are told, had very little effect.

Perfection of the manufacture of Glass.

THE manufacture of glass had probably been brought to some perfection in London in 1575, for Holinshed, after he has spoken of the distinction of a glasshouse by fire, adds, 'the same house which had consumed great quantities of wood in making fine drinking-glasses, is now itself consumed.'

Slave Trade.

THE negro trade, that much reprobated source of wealth and of contention, was opened in 1562 (Edw. VI.) by Captain John Hawkins of Devonshire, who, assisted by a liberal subscription, fitted out three ships, and sailed to the coast of Guinea, whence he carried 300 negro slaves (acquired by methods not to be too closely scrutinized) to Hispaniola: he exchanged his lading there for hides,

are prohibited from being sold, unless they be 'double-headed, and the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pinne, well smoothed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and sharpened.' This long process, which must have rendered the pin expensive, was dropped in about three years, and the pin became what it is now.—*Stow, &c.*

sugar, ginger, and pearls, and returned in opulence A. D. 1563. No more is heard of this species of traffic during several years.

A ship and pinnace of London made a prosperous voyage to Benin, in Africa, in 1588; and the queen, in the same year, granted a patent to certain merchants of London and of Exeter, for ten years, to trade exclusively to the rivers Senegal and Gambia.

Manufactures.

THE short and unsettled reigns of Edward the Sixth, and Mary the First, produced* not that confidence in government which could tempt the opulent to supply manufactures with the necessary funds. Mary was indeed led by her love for an undeserving husband to treat her mercantile subjects with bitter injustice; she would ask unreasonable loans, and would revenge the denial by stopping exportation, and even by seizing the cloth which had been sold to foreigners. Once she raised 50,000*l.* by an extortion of this kind. The loss of Calais, whence much cloth was exported into Flanders, hurt the woollen manufacture.

* One act of Mary's sterile administration deserves to be excepted from the censure which, in general, it merits. She abolished that part of the code of laws relative to the woollen trade, which prevented any person from making cloth, unless after having served full seven years at the business. It appears strange to read, that her liberal-minded successor should have renewed a prohibition which is generally accounted impolitic by the adepts of trade. It still remains in force.

Weaving of Silk Stockings introduced.

A LOOM for the weaving of silk stockings was erected in 1600, under the patronage of William Lee, of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Nothing so much aided the progress of the manufactures in England as her just and prudent attention to the persecuted strangers, whom the bigotry of Spain expelled from their habitations. Some families had, in the days of Edward VI. quitted their homes and followed their teachers to the English coast; these had already erected their looms, when the accession of Mary obliged them to pursue liberty of religious worship, to a colder climate. With Elizabeth more liberality of sentiment came forward, and some of the exiled strangers returned: but it was to the wheels and gibbets of the Duke D'Alva, that England is most indebted; scared by his inhumanity, the Flemish manufacturers fled thither in shoals, and was received with humanity and hospitality. They repaid this politic kindness by peopling the decayed streets of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Southampton, and many other towns, with active and industrious weavers, dyers, cloth-dressers, linen-makers, silk-throwsters, &c. They taught the making of bays, says, and other stuffs; and many of their posterity now enjoy large estates and respectable titles in the counties, which, with so much good sense,

opened their arms to shield them from their pursuers. It was from this period that England may begin to date that superiority in the works of art, which has rendered her in the eighteenth century, the market of Europe, and even extended the sale of her manufactures to the savage shores of Kamschatka.

ANECDOTES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND
AND SCOTLAND, FROM THE YEAR 1400 TO THE
YEAR 1548.

Sovereign Authority.

IN the beginning of the fifteenth century, the power of each department of legislature became now more accurately defined, although no considerable alterations had been made in either. The king's authority was most assuredly not in general despotic, since he could neither repeal nor change any law which had been made by consent of his parliament; yet that dispensing power which each monarch assumed, when it suited his purpose, threw far too great a weight into the scale of royalty. The sovereign, beside, retained the cruel right of giving in marriage the wards of the crown, although that prerogative (as well as that of purveyance) was exercised in a much more moderate degree than it had been of old. *Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.*

He could likewise press for his service not only

soldiers and sailors, but also musicians, goldsmiths, embroiderers, and various sorts of artificers. *Ibid.*

Peers, Commons, Knights of Shires, influence of Sheriff, &c.

THE Peers attended their duty in parliament at their own expence. The representatives of the commons were always paid from the commencement of representation. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, it was fixed 4*s.* *per diem* for knights of shires, and half that sum for each burghess. We may reasonably enough rate these sums equal to ten times their value in modern times, considering not only the weight of the silver, but also the cheapness of provisions and conveniences in the fifteenth century.

The sheriff's influence in returning members was extensive, and frequently abused. 'Sometimes they made no proper elections for knights, &c.; sometimes no return at all; and sometimes they returned such as had never been elected.'—*Pream. stat. 23 Hen. VI. c. 14.*

For these, and such like misdemeanors, he might be sued by action at the assizes, and was liable to fine and imprisonment.

The qualification requisite for knights of the shires was 40*l.* *per annum*. It appears too, that strength of body and constitution, was demanded, for the parliamentary writs about this period di-

rected the electors to choose not only the wisest but the stoutest men, (*potentiores ad laborandum*,) that they might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey, and of close attendance.—*Prynne*.

Privileges.

BESIDES their pay, the members of the house of commons had the privilege, for themselves and their servants, of freedom from all arrests. A necessary exemption, that they might be enabled to perform their duty. But this privilege, (as well as their pay,) attended on the members only during their actual services, and quitted them at the end of each session, allowing only for the few days which they might be obliged to employ in journeying to London, and returning home.—*Ibid*.

The convocations were regularly summoned with the lay-parliaments, and as regularly met. The prelates were still directed to attend and ‘consult with the nobles.’ They were also directed to order their dean and archdeacons to attend in person, each chapter to send one proctor, and the clergy of each diocese to send two proctors, ‘to consent to those things which should be ordained by the common council of the kingdom.’ As therefore they were only to ‘consent,’ not to ‘consult,’ the proctors could scarcely be reckoned a part of the commons. They, however, received wages, and partook of the privileges of parliament. The ecclesiastics still continued to lay taxes on them-

selves ; but the consent of the other branches of legislature was necessary to give force to their decree.—*Prynne*.

Parliaments were often and quickly dismissed. They had frequently only one session, and once, (in 1399,) but a single day. And in that one day deposed one king, (Richard II.) and set up another.

English Courts of Law, Judges, &c.

No considerable alteration appeared in the English courts of law. The number of judges in the courts at Westminster was by no means certain. Under Henry VI., there were, at one time, eight judges in the court of common pleas. Each judge took a solemn oath that 'he would take no fee, pension, gift, reward, or bribe, from any suitor, saving meat and drink, which should be of no great value.—*Fortescue de Laudibus legum Angliæ*.

Law and Lawyers.

THE laws were ill executed throughout the fifteenth century *. Maintenance (an union for sinister pur-

* To Richard III., on whom history has cast innumerable stains, England has considerable obligations as a legislator. Not to mention his causing each act of parliament to be written in English, and to be printed, he was the first prince on the English throne who enabled justices of the peace to take bail ; and he caused to be enacted a law against raising money by ' Benevolence,' which, when pleaded by the citizens of London against Cardinal Wolsey, could only be answered by an averment that ' Richard being an usurper and a murderer of his nephews, the laws of so wicked a man ought not to be forced.'—*Barrington on Statutes*.

' He was, (says a noble biographer,) a good law-giver for the ease and solace of the common people.'—*Barrington's Statutes*.

poses,) still prevailed; the priests, by their exemptions, were set above the law; sanctuaries abounded throughout the realm, and protected the vilest criminal and the most dishonest debtor; perjury thrived, and afforded a living to many; while the high constable, under colour of exercising military law, was authorised to proceed, in cases of treason, 'summarily, and without noise, or form of trial, and if he wished to give an appearance of justice to his proceedings, he could call in the aid of torture by fire, or on the rack.

The account which the learned Judge Hale gives of the lawyers, who pleaded in the fifteenth century, does them little honour. He condemns the reports during the reigns of Henry IV. and V., as inferior to those of the last twelve years of Edward III.; and he speaks but coolly of those which the reign of Henry VI. produces.—*History of Common Law, apud Henry.*

Yet the deficiency of progressive improvement in the common law, arose not from a want of application to the science; since we read in a very respectable treatise, that there were no fewer than 2000 students attending to the inns of chancery and of court, in the time of its writer.—*Fortescue de Laudibus, &c.*

Court of Chancery.

THE Court of Chancery seems to date its rise at the close of the 14th century. It was highly obnoxious to the professors of the common law, who, by

their interests in the house of commons, procured a petition against it from the parliament to Edward IV. in 1474. The influence of the prelates (who were certain of guiding that court,) defeated this attempt, and its establishment encountered no further difficulties.—*Cotton's Records.*

State of Civilization.

ONE observation there remains to make on the general state of the English at this period. Civilization indeed had not hitherto made such progress as entirely to abolish slavery. Yet few land-owners or renters were to be found who did not prefer the labour of free-men * to that of slaves. This circumstance diminished their number, and the perpetual civil contests enfranchised many, by putting arms in their hands. Within a few years after the accession of the Tudors, slaves were heard of no more.

A reflection made at the close of the 15th century, by Philip de Comines, is the more remarkable,

* The value of freemen who would labour in agriculture was so well known, that statutes were passed to prevent any person who had not twenty shillings a-year, (equal to ten modern pounds,) from breeding up his children to any other occupation than that of husbandry. Nor could any one, who had been employed in such work until twelve years of age, be permitted to turn himself to any other vocation.—*Public Acts.*

The condition of the slaves in England was as completely wretched as the despot, who owned him, might please to make. His goods were his master's, and on that account were free from taxation; and whatever injuries he might sustain, he had no power to sue that master in any court of justice.—*Rym. Fæd. Prynn.*

as it is given voluntarily, at the close of the longest and most bloody civil war with which the English annals can be charged. 'In my opinion,' (says that judicious observer) 'of all the countries in Europe where I was ever acquainted, the government is no where so well managed, the people no where less obnoxious to violence and oppression, nor their houses less liable to the desolations of war, than in England; for there the calamities fall only upon the authors.'

State of Scotland.

Scotland was not so happy. The unfortunate death of the Norwegian Margaret, had involved that realm in a long and bloody contest with its powerful neighbour; and, although the gallant and free spirits of the Scots had preserved the independence of their country, notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers, wealth and discipline, it could not prevent the preponderance of a most odious and tyrannic aristocracy. Perpetual domestic war loosened every tie of constitutional government; and a Douglas*, a Creighton, or a Donald† of the Isles, by turns exercised such

* Oppression, ravishing of women, theft, sacrilege, and all other kinds of mischief, were but a dalliance. So that it was thought leisom in a dependor on a Douglas to slay or murder; for so fearful was their name, and so terrible to every innocent man, that when a mischievous limmer was apprehended, if he alleged that he murdered and slew at a Douglas's command, no man durst present him to justice.—*Lindsay.*

† Donald (Lord of the Isles) gathered a company of mischievous,

despotism and inhumanity, as no monarch in the 15th century would have dared to practise.

The endeavours of the first and the second James were turned towards improving the jurisprudence of the North, by engrafting on it the best parts of the English system; but the suddenness of their deaths, and the weak reign of their successor, James III., prevented these people from receiving much benefit from such laudable designs.

The Parliament of Scotland, at this period, had nearly monopolized all judicial authority. Three committees were formed from the house (for there was only one) soon after the members met. The first, like the 'Triers' in England, examined, approved, or disapproved of petitions to the senate; the second constituted the highest court in all criminal prosecutions, as did the third in civil ones. And as every lord of Parliament, who chose it, might claim his place in each of these committees, almost the whole administration of law, civil as well as military, resided in the breast of the Scottish nobility. There was another court, that of session, of which the members and the duration were appointed by Parliament.

The justiciary (an office discontinued in England

cursed limmers, and invaded the King in every airth, wherever he came, with great cruelty; neither sparing old nor young; without regard to wives, old, feeble, or decrepid women; or young infants in the cradle, which would have moved a heart of stone to commiseration: and burned villages, towns, and corns, &c.—*Lindsay*.

as too potent) was still nominally at the head of the Scottish law, and held courts which were styled 'justiciars,' as did the chamberlain, 'chamberlains:' from these courts there was allowed an appeal to a jurisdiction of great antiquity, styled, 'The four Borrough's Court.' This was formed of burgesses from Edinburgh, and three other towns, who met at Haddington, to judge on such appeals. —*Pub. Acts.*

There was one abuse, however, which rendered every court of justice nugatory. It had become a custom for the Scottish monarchs to bestow on their favourites not only estates, but powers and privileges, equal to their own. These were styled 'Lords of Regalities:' they formed courts around them, had mimic officers of state, and tried, executed, or pardoned the greatest criminals.

The good sense of James II. prompted him to propose a remedy for this inordinate evil; but two admirable laws which he brought forward (the one against granting 'regalities,' without consent of Parliament; the other, to prohibit the bestowing of hereditary dignities) were after his decease neglected; and Scotland continued two centuries longer a prey to the jarring interests of turbulent, traitorous noblemen.

The reigns of the seventh and of the eighth Henry brought to a period two states, each totally inconsistent with good government and human felicity; that aristocracy which, at the same time that it

kept the monarch in awe, oppressed the people, and caught in an instant the fire of civil dissension; and that bondage, which rendered the labourer and his family liable to be transferred, like the oxen on the farm, according to his owner's caprice.

The powers of the peers had been weakened by the destruction which the civil wars of the red and white rose had brought on the ancient families. The seventh Henry shewed no inclination to replenish their phalanx. He even contrived, by the acts against retainers, and by rendering the conveyance of landed property more easy, to lessen the respectability of those that remained. The numbers of the upper house were again diminished by Henry VIII.; who, on the dissolution of monastic institutions, deprived twenty-six abbots, and two priors, of their votes in that branch of the legislative system.

Whether or no the conduct of Henry VII., with respect to Ireland, was just and prudent, those who live in the nineteenth century are well qualified to judge. The great lines of his policy were these: by means of his governor, Sir Edward Poyning, he procured the Parliament of that island to enact, first, 'That all former acts of the English Parliament should be binding in Ireland; and, secondly, that before any Irish Parliament should be holden, copies of the acts *proposed to be passed* should be sent over to England, for the approbation of the King and Council.

As to slavery, the good sense of the nation, and its conviction that the willing exertion of a freeman was of more value than the forced labour of a serf, had nearly emancipated the lower ranks of society by the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet a bill, meant at once to abolish this odious condition, which, in 1526, was brought into the upper house, and was read three times in one day, had the ill fortune to be rejected; and the merit of this good work was left to reason, unaided by law*.

That Henry VIII. took still greater liberties than his father†, with the privileges and properties of his subjects, cannot be denied; and particularly during those six years, when, displeased with the parsimony of his Parliament, he called none, but levied the necessary supplies by dint of prerogative and precedent. Shrinking with horror from the recollection of past miseries, the English seem to have dreaded the renewal of a civil war more than the worst effects of despotism. Yet, in 1526, on a most illegal attempt to raise one-sixth of the laity's

* No treatises relating to law, or government, were published during the reign of Henry VII. But a celebrated book, written by one Marrow, on the office of a 'justice of the peace,' is often referred to by later writers, such as Fitzherbert, Lambarde, &c., and is still said to exist in MS.—*Reeves on English Law*.

† Yet Henry VII. had erected the despotic court of the Star Chamber; had renewed the practice of exacting benevolences, begun by Edward IV.; and had pursued the path of Richard III., in prosecuting, by 'bill of attainder,' those whom otherwise he could not reach.

goods, and one-fourth of those belonging to the clergy, the monarch found so strong a spirit of opposition in the people, that he recalled his commissioners, and dropped the project. Afterward, by managing the papal party, and that of the reformation; by bestowing rich monastic forfeitures on men of power; and by the alternate use of menacings and soothings, he became so completely master of his Parliament, that (as he found nothing he could propose was too absurd for their approbation) he convoked them willingly, and dismissed them with reluctance.

The Peers and the Commons were indeed so entirely careless as to the lives and liberties of the people, and consented to laws so contradictory to each other, that the observers of the one must inevitably fall under the censure of the other. As proofs of this axiom, we need only recollect the statute which allowed to the proclamation of Henry the authority of laws*; that which, 1529, absolved him from paying his debts; or that most ludicrously tyrannical act, which denounced, that, ‘If the King or his successors should intend to marry, any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid, if she, not being so, did not declare the same to the King, it would be high treason; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of misprision of treason.’—‘It is then only a *widow*

* None of the Privy Council were to compose the Court, which had power to punish offenders against such proclamations.

that the King must address,' said the scurrilous jesters of the age : and it did chance that Henry chose for his next new bride the relict of the Lord Latimer.—*Public Acts, Burnet.*

Nor could safety be insured by preserving a prudent silence ; since whoever refused to answer an oath respecting the points in question, incurred the guilt of treason. In 1537, an Act of Parliament declared it treason to assert the validity of Henry's marriage with Catharine of Arragon, or Anne Boleyn. Within seven years, a second statute made it equally treasonable to speak slanderously of the Princess Mary and Elizabeth, the issue of the above-mentioned ladies. As both these contradictory acts were existing in force at the same period, a man could not have answered the simple question, ' whether he thought those Princesses lawfully born ? ' without exposing himself to the punishment of a traitor ; and the same danger attended him if he stood mute.

When we add to this, the power of the star chamber *, the insolence of courtiers, (still

* The statute for the creation of this despotic court, Lord Bacon styles a ' good law.' It was composed of 26 members, chiefly the same as the privy council. Sir T. Smith, in his ' Commonwealth of England,' advances, in its defence, that it was useful to govern those who were too *stout* for the ordinary course of justice. It is said to have been instituted to curb the riots of disbanded soldiers who were too often turned loose on the country without either pay or quarters. *Barrington, &c.*

The fines of the Star-chamber were so severe and interesting, that

harder to be borne* than the despotism of sovereigns) and the vile administration of both civil and criminal law, through the known perjuries of juries; we must wonder at the extreme respect †,

sometimes places were taken for the auditors by three in the morning. The title of the court is supposed to be derived from *Starium*, a barbarous word for a Jewish contract; as business with the Jews had probably been transacted there. *Ibid.*

* In Strype's life of Stow, we find a garden-house belonging to an honest citizen of London, (which chanced to obstruct the improvement of a powerful favourite, Thomas Cromwell) 'loosed from the foundation, borne on rollers, and replaced two and twenty feet within the garden, without the owner's leave being required; nay, without his knowledge. The persons employed, being asked their authority for this extraordinary proceeding, made only this reply, 'that Sir Thomas Cromwell had commanded them to do it,' and none durst argue the matter. The father of the antiquary Stow, (for it was he who was trampled on) was fain to continue to pay his old rent, without any abatement for his garden, though half of it was in this manner taken away.

† To support this harsh accusation, we have but too many proofs 'Perjury,' (says a statute 11th Hen. VII. cap. 21) 'is much and customarily within the city of London, among such persons as passen and been impanelled in issue,' &c. The preambles of many acts recited the frequent perjuries of jurors as common, though pernicious events.

In the 'Dance of Death,' translated from the French by John Lyngate, among the characters introduced to adapt it to the English reader, is a juryman, who has often been bribed to give a false verdict. This shews that the offence was not unusual.

Carew, in his account of Cornwall, avers, that it was common for attorneys to charge in their bills sums, 'pro amicitia comitis,' 'for the sheriff's good-will,' &c. in packing juries.

The jurors of the capital were peculiarly abandoned. In 1468, Stow records the punishment and public disgrace of many jurors:

paid by contemporary historians, to the government of England, as administered under the race of Owen Tudor.

It seems not improper to close these observations with the words of a late judicious writer: 'In every regulation of a judicial nature made in this reign, we perceive a decisive hand. The parliament seemed determined at once to resolve all doubts, and to root out all difficulties, which, on former occasions, they had been content to soften and palliate. Instead of continuing still to ascertain the boundary between the civil and spiritual jurisdiction by new descriptions, provision was made by statute, for correcting several irregularities wholly of a clerical nature; and for an entire reform of the ecclesiastical law. Instead of endeavouring to repress the luxuriancy of uses by fresh statutes against the pernors* of profits, it was intended to destroy the thing itself. The grand object of barring entails, which was accomplished

he adds, that at the time of his writing, (the reign of Elizabeth) their character continues the same. Fuller writes, that it is a common proverb, 'London juries hang half and save half.' Wolsey accused them of being capable of finding 'Abel guilty of the murder of Cain.' A statute which punishes petty juries for false verdicts, ordains that half the grand jury (when a foreigner shall be tried) shall be strangers and not Londoners; and lastly, Ben Jonson sings in his *Magnetic Lady*:

And there is no London jury, but are led
In evidence, as far by common fame

As they are by present deposition.—*Barrington on Stat.*

* Law term for receiver.

at last by a recovery, was now substantiated by a parliamentary provision in favour of that mode of conveyance; and the construction that had been entertained, with difference of opinion, respecting the like effect of the statute of fines in the last reign, was now expressly established by the same authority. The devise of lands, which had hitherto been practised under cover of a use, and had been partially allowed by a late act, was now by express statute indulged to every one. The benefit of clergy, which had so long stood in the way of our criminal judicature, was now abolished in the principal and most common felonies.

All these were innovations on the ancient law, which gave it a new turn, and brought these points under consideration, in a variety of new appearances.

To these may be added, the protection and establishment of leases for years, execution against the effects of bankrupts, the limitation of actions, and the locality of trial in felonies.—*Hist. English Law.*

Jurisprudence of Scotland.

WE must now attend to the jurisprudence of our sister nation, in which some advantage had certainly been gained to the cause of general security, although every obstruction had occurred which ruinous foreign wars, and still more detestable civil contentions, could cause.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the parliament appointed justices and sheriffs in

Ross, Caithness, the Orkneys, and the western isles, where none had been before, and appointed courts to be held from time to time, in these very remote districts. There was need of this attention, if the preamble to the acts is to be credited, 'through lack of justiciaries, justices, and sheriffs, by which the people *are become wild.*' *Public acts, James IV.*

James V. who could sometimes exert a just and proper spirit, sailed in 1535 from Leith, and examined in person, how far those wholesome regulations had been put in practice. He seized and brought away some of the most turbulent chieftains, and inspired the most ungovernable of his subjects with a decent respect for the laws*.

The parliaments were frequently and regularly called, particularly by James IV. and V. Every thing which the nation could afford was granted by the house (for it was but single, the scheme which James I. had planned, of forming two chambers, having unhappily miscarried,) and all possible care was taken by the house, that the king should not alienate the demesnes of the crown. In some in-

* Justice was administered with great expedition, and too often with vindictive severity. Originally the time of trial and execution was to be within 'three Suns.' About the latter end of the seventeenth century, the period was extended to nine days after the sentence; but, since a rapid and unjust execution in a petty Scottish town in 1720, the execution has been ordered to be deferred for forty days on the south, and sixty on the north side of the Tay, that time may be allowed for an application for mercy.—*Pennant.*

stances, this branch of the legislature appears to have trenched upon the royal prerogative*, and even to have assumed the executive power.

It is certain, (as has been remarked by a well-informed historian,) that this mixture of liberality and of caution in the Scottish representatives, at the same time that it maintained their kings in decent magnificence by the revenues of the crown lands, 'prevented the subjects from being harassed by loans, benevolences, and other oppressive acts, which were so often employed by the princes of Europe, their contemporaries.' Yet as the government had very seldom sufficient strength to guard the unarmed members of society from assassination and pillage, arrayed under the banners of a factious nobleman, it may be doubted, whether the extortion and despotism of a seventh or eighth Henry, might not be more tolerable than the domestic tyranny † and murderous ravages committed by the satellites of a Douglas, a Hume, a Sinclair, or a Hamilton.

* As in 1503, when an act was passed for prohibiting the king from pardoning those convicted of wilful and premeditated murder; but this appears to have been done at the monarch's own request, and was liable to be rescinded at his pleasure.—James IV. Act. 97.

† It appears that each great man had his courts, held by power delegated from the crown, with a soc sac*, pit, and gallows, toill and paine, in-fang thief; he had power to hold courts for slaughter, and to doe justice upon aue man that is seized therewith in hand havand, or in back bealand.'

* A pit for drowning some offenders, particularly women.

MORALS, MANNERS, DIVERSIONS, BANQUETS, AND
DRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN, ABOUT
THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH AND BEGINNING
OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

Morals.

As to moral habits, the English were in general still brave, humane, and (at least among each other) hospitable. That their priests and monks were luxurious and gluttonous, we know from their own prelates, and that their profligacy exceeded the usual natural bounds of licentiousness, we are but too well assured by the report of the visitation under Cromwell; but the faults of a singularly depraved and pampered race, ought not to be laid at the door of a whole nation.

The lower orders of the community were extremely ignorant; and, as little attention was shewn to instruct them in the religious duties of life, they repaid the neglect by plundering their superiors. But although twenty-two thousand persons are said to have been executed chiefly for theft, in the time of Henry VIII. yet was murder almost entirely unknown, and England might, in the 16th century, as she still may do in the 19th,) proudly vaunt, that the taking away life in cold blood, at least without some legal colour of justice, was a practice almost unknown within her limits.

An unhappy species of political rivalry, wherein each head of a party found it necessary to support

its adherents in rapine and murder, lest he should be deserted by all, prevents the eulogy from being extended at this period to the sister nation, wherein the example of the Douglas family, of the house of Hamilton, and of many gallant but ferocious warriors, too plainly shewed that it was possible to unite in the same person intrepid bravery against the foreign foe, and inexorable cruelty of the defenceless neighbour.

Manners.

TOWARDS the sixteenth century the manners of the English became more humane than those of their ancestors had been, whom continual warfare and an eager thirst for conquest and spoil, had united to render ungentle and tremendous. Foreigners now visited the shores of England, and were not displeased with their reception, nor harsh in their accounts of the people. Several of the nobility and gentry traversed the continent, and brought back some knowledge of foreign language; and the splendid pageantry which shone at the court of Henry VIII., connected as it was with the knightly gallantry, supported and encouraged a spirit of emulation and honour, which paved the way to a general civilization. Still every thing was truly simple in the habits of domestic life. The furniture of the knight and the gentleman was heavy, plain, and scanty. Plate was abundant; but there appears to have been a service of pewter to use on common days.

The entertainments and feasting of the age are spoken of in another place; the following quotation, however, may be admitted here, as it satirizes some errors against good breeding still existing in the present more polished age:—

‘ Slow be the servers in serving in, alwaye,
But swifte be they after, taking meate away;
A special custom used is them amonge,
No good dishe to suffer on borde to be longe.
If th’ dishe be pleasante, whether fleshe or fishe,
Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe;
And if it be fleshe, ten knives shalt thou see
Mangling the fleshe, and in the platter flee;
Put there thy hands in peryl without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or a glove of mayle.

Barclay's Eclogues.

Exercises and Sports.

TOURNAMENTS, tilts, and justing, as well as hawking and hunting, continued to be the favourite amusements of the nobility. Women were sometimes expert at the long-bow. In the northern districts of Great Britain, the chase was followed with a degree of pomp and magnificence which astonished the eyes even of princely visitors.

Bear-baiting, brutal as it was, was by no means an amusement of the lower people only. Gaming was remarkably prevalent among the inferior ranks, although prohibited by severe laws.

With the reign of Henry VIII. an eagerness for pageants and expensive shows, attended by masques, was introduced to the court and people of

England. The pageant was a moveable stage, representing a ship, a castle, or a mountain. The masques were the actors, who represented a kind of dramatic entertainment, consisting of an uninteresting dialogue, frequently on a theological subject.

In Hall, Holinshed, &c. we have prolix descriptions of the pageant, and specimens of the quaint and pedantic verse which was used to accompany the bulky and pompous spectacle.

The stage (if it could be said to exist) was in the hands of priests, scholars, and parish clerks. Moralities, a tedious species of dramatic entertainment, seem to have begun with the sixteenth century; but these grew so polemico-satiric, that it became necessary to prevent the authors and actors, by a legal restraint, from touching on controversial subjects.

The country-people, it is probable, amused themselves around their winter's fire-side by telling stories, or else (as a contemporary poet, Barclay, sings) by reciting

‘ some mery fit
Of Mayde-Marran, or els of Robin Hood ;
Of Bentley's ale, which chafeth well the blood,
Of Perte of Norwich, sause of Wilbaton,
Of buckish Toby, well stuff'd as a tun.’

The females had other diversions.

‘ Then is it pleasure, the yonge maides amonge,
To watch by the fier the winter-nightes longe ;
And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
And cover wardes for fault of other warke;

To taste white shevers, to make prophet-roles ;
And, after talke, oft times to fille the boles.'

He adds, with more good humour than harmony,

————— " Methinks no mirth is scant,
Where no rejoicing of minstrelsie doth want ;
The bagpipe or fiddle to us is delectable,' &c. &c.

Dancing round the Maypole, and riding the hobby-horse, were favourite country sports; but these suffered a severe check at the Reformation, as did the humorous pageant of Christmas, personified by an old man hung round with savory dainties.

We have reason to think that gaming was the favourite amusement of the Scots in the sixteenth century. Sir David Lindsay, in a tragedy, makes Cardinal Beaton declare, that he had played with the king for 3,000 crowns of gold in one night 'at cards and dice;' and an anonymous bard (cited by the historian of English poetry) avers, that

' Halking, hunting, and swift horse rynnng
Are changit in all his wrangus wyunning ;
There is no play bot ' cartes and dice.'

Banquets.

THE tables of the English were now provided with more varieties than formerly, and are spoken of with great signs of approbation by strangers, who had tasted of the island hospitality ; yet, as no artificial pasturage was then known, the cattle for the family supply, from Michaelmas to Whitsuntide, were still slain and salted at the close of the summer.

Hall, Holinshed, Stow, Fabian, and Speed, may be consulted for a minute description of the various feasts given on public occasions.

Mr. Strutt introduces a bill of fare, with the prices to each article, of an entertainment in 1530; at the burial of Sir John Rudstone. The articles are (allowing for the discoveries since made of turtle, John Doree, &c.) nearly what would now afford a plentiful corporation dinner. The fish were pikes and sturgeons: there were ten swans: the other dishes were common ones,—capons, brawn, pigeons, &c., the cost exceedingly small.

As to the table of the Scots, no particular remark occurs, unless it be that two national dishes (still cherished at the plentiful tables in the north) made, in the sixteenth century, a part of the gentleman's usual meal.

Hospitality, from one end of the island to the other, seems to have been especially harboured at religious houses; and if the monk was to a proverb, fond of good living, jollity, and conviviality, he was not backward in imparting a share of his dainties to the benighted or wandering stranger.

In Barclay's Eclogues we find some account of the favourite dishes of the age :

‘ What fishe is of savor sweet and delicious,

Rosted or sodden in swete herbes or wine,

Or fried in oyle, most saforous and fine,

The pasties of a hart :

The crane, the fesaunt, the pecocke, and the curlewe,

The patriche, plover, bittorn, and heron sewe ;

Season'd so well in licour redolent,

That the hall's full of pleasant smell and sent.'

We close this division by inserting two extracts from treatises printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The first is from 'The Boke of Kervinge,' and proves that the pleasures of the table must have been highly valued, when so pointed an attention was paid to their minutiae.

'The termes of a kerver be as here followeth :— Breke that deer; lesche that brawn; rere that goose; lyste that swanne; sauce that capon; spoil that hen; fruche that chekyn; unbrace that mallard; unlace that conye; desmembre that heron; display that crane; dysfygure that pecocke; unjoint that bytterne; untacke that curlewe; allay that fesande; wynges that patryche; wynges that quails; mynce that plover; thye that pygion; border that pastie; thye that woodcocke; thye all maner small birds; tymbre that fyre; tyere that egge; chynne that samon; strynges that lampreye; splat that pyke; sauce that plaice; sauce that tench; splay that breme; syde that haddock; tuske that berbell; culpin that trout; tyne that cheven; trasene that ele; trame that sturgeon; under-trouch that porpus; tayme that crabbe; barbe that lobster. Here endeth the goodlye termes of kervynge.'

The other is an epicurean carol, taken from a miscellany published by the same printer, and is still retained, with some innovations, at Queen's College, Oxford.

‘ A Carol bryngyng in the Bore’s Head.

*Caput Apri deforo**Riddens laudes Domino.*

The Bore’s head in hande bring I,
 With garlandes gay and rosemary,
 I pray you syng merely,

‘ Qui estis in convivio.’

The Bore’s head I understande,
 Is the chese serryce in this lande,
 Loke wherever it be fande *

‘ Servite cum cantico.’

Be gladde, lordes, more or lasse,
 For thys hath ordayned our stewarde,
 To chere you alle this Chrystemasse,
 The bore’s head with mustarde.

Dress.

THE habits of fashionable people, at the close of the 15th age, were truly fantastical. A petticoat hung over the loins; a long doublet, laced over a stomacher, covered the fore-part of the body; and the wide sleeved mantle, like a woman’s gown, fell over the petticoat, and descended to the ancles. The materials of which these dresses were composed, were gay and costly, (such as silks and velvets, cloth of gold and silver, &c.); and there seems to have been a real difficulty in knowing the well dressed man from the woman. This puzzle was, however, completely done away by a most absurd and ludicrous fashion, imported from the Continent, soon after the accession of Henry VIII.

* Found.

a fashion which characterized a gross and indecent buffoon, the monarch and the labourer, the judge and the watchman. At the same time the doublet and the mantle became shorter ; and long breeches came into use, instead of the petticoat.

Some time after the monarch, increasing in dimension, the loyalty of the age prescribed corpulency to the subject, and every part of the male dress was stuffed with cotton or wool, that the wearer might emulate the bulk of the sovereign.

The fantastic variety of habits in the sixteenth century, was humorously satirized by Dr. Andrew Borde, a burlesque poet of that period.

As to the head, the hood of the last age had given way to a coarse round felt hat, a cap or a bonnet among the men. The female, as a matron, wore a plain coif or velvet bonnet ; but, if a maiden, had her head uncovered, and permitted her tresses to hang down either simply or braided with ribbons.

The men wore their hair at full length, until the capricious Henry VIII. decreed, that his attendants and courtiers should ‘ poll their heads.’

Henry directed also, that cloth of gold and tissue should only adorn the duke and marquis ; purple should be reserved for the royal family ; silks and velvets might be worn by the opulent commoner ; but none inferior to an earl in dignity might use embroidery.

Beneath these gay habits the legs could boast no

tighter or richer covering than boots, made of cloth. A pair of black silk hose, made in Spain, was a present worthy the acceptance of a king.

The Scots afford no materials for any particular observation on their dress. The ladies, in spite of a legal ordnance, 'That no woman cum to the kirk nor mercat with her face muffalit,' appear, by the declamations of their contemporary poets, to have continued to use the fashion which they thought most becoming.

RIGHT TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND IN THE LINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

EDWARD, the son of Edmund Ironside, nephew to St. Edward the Confessor, was the next heir of the Saxon line; whence some modern English condemn the accession of the Confessor, who certainly could derive no right from the unjust Danish Conquest, as Bedford, who was the author of the book entitled, 'Hereditary Right,' pretends. But it is evident, from Mr. Earberry, (*Occasional Historian*, p. 4.) that during the reign of the English Saxons, when the next heir was esteemed by the States unfit, in dangerous or difficult times, the king's thanes advanced another son or brother of the deceased king, so as never to take one that was not of his family. Often, if the heir was a minor, an uncle was made king; and, upon the uncle's death, though he left issue, the crown reverted to

the former heir or his children, as the very inspection of a table of three successions shews. (See Mr. Squire's Diss. on the English Saxon Government, *anno* 1753.) Cerdic, founder of the kingdom of the West Saxons, in 495, from whom the Confessor descended, was the tenth from Woden, according to the Saxon Chronicle, published by Bishop Gibson, from an original copy, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Peterborough, was given by Archbishop Laud to the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, and is more correct than the copies in the Cotton Library, and at Cambridge, made use of by Wheloc. This most valuable Chronicle derives also the pedigrees of Hengist and his successors in Kent; and of the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, from Woden, whom Beda calls the father of the Royal Saxon lineage in England, or of the chief kings in the Heptarchy: he must have preceded the reign of Dioclesian. Some take him to have been the great god of this name, honoured by the Saxons; others, a mighty king, who bore the name of that false god. That the regular succession in the heptarchy was hereditary, and when, interrupted, again restored, is manifest from the above Chronicle. The Norman carried so high his claim of Conquest, as to set himself above all established laws and rights, and to exclude his son Robert from the crown; but the succession was deemed hereditary after Stephen, at least. The unanimous sense and approbation of the whole

nation, and of all foreign states, in the succession of St. Edward, demonstrates the legality of the proceedings by which he was called to the crown; which no one, either at home or abroad, ever thought of calling in question; so clear was the law or custom in that case. The posture of affairs then required, that the throne should be immediately filled, before a Dane stepped into it. Edward Atheling was absent at a great distance, and unequal to the difficulties of the state; nor could matters be brought to bear that his arrival could be waited for. St. Edward afterwards sent for him and his whole family, in 1054, and treated him as his heir; and, after that prince's death, behaved towards his son Edgar in the same manner, who was also styled by him Atheling, or Adeling. The Greek title *Clyto*, or *Illustrious*, given to the Prince Royal by our ancestors, was by them changed into the Saxon word *Atheling*, from *Adil*, noble; the termination, *ing*, signifies a person's descent, as *Malmesbury* takes notice.—(1. i. *de Reg. c. 3.*)—Thus *Edgaring* was the son of *Edgar*; and in France, *Meroving*, and *Carloving*, sons of *Meroveons* and *Charles*.

The spelling of Edward's name was altered upon his accession to the throne. Till that time it is constantly spelled, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, *Eadward*, even two years before; but, in 1042, *Edward*, which is observable also in his coins; though *Edmund* and *Edward* are found in later MSS. This

is one of the arguments by which Bishop Gibson, (Pref.) shews this Chronicle to have been one of the public registers, which were written by persons deputed to record all transactions of the times, and preserved in the Royal monasteries, as the Scote Chronicon informs us. (See Nicolson's English Historical Library, p. 114.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE-
HOLD-BOOK:

P. 243, *Alb.*] The alb was an ancient linen garment worn at the administration of the communion, but differed from the surplice in being made to fit the body close, like a cassock, with close sleeves, and tied round the middle with a girdle or sash. It was sometimes embroidered with various colours, and adorned with fringes.—See *Wheatley on Common Prayer*, p. 107.

P. 254, *Haunsmen.*] Haunsmen, or Hanshmen, (more frequently written Henchmen, or Henxmen,) was the old English name for the pages, so called from their standing at their lord's haunch or side. The Earl of Northumberland had three young gentlemen who attended him in this capacity, and are classed along with his wards, &c. next to his own sons.

P. 254, *Aumer.*] Aumer, *i. e.* almoner. This sort of contraction is familiar in our language; so the Ambry in Westminster is corrupted from

almonary, eleemosanary. It is not easy to account why the name of Under Almoner should be given to the servant who supplied the grooms of the chamber with wood, as at pp. 45, 255.

P. 254, *Pistoller*.] The Pistoller was the clerk who read the epistle; the *Gospeller*, or priest who read the gospel, is also mentioned.

P. 292, *Dormount-Book*.] The 'Dormount-Book' and 'Wering-Book' were books wherein the accounts of the linen, and perhaps all other sorts of cloth, stuffs, &c. and wardrobe accounts, were entered. The Wering-Book probably contained entries of all such linen as was actually in wear; the Dormount-Book, of such as was laid up, and not in present use. The year, as to household affairs, ended at Michaelmas. Of this mode of computation a relique is still preserved, in the custom of hiring servants at Michaelmas; as also the closing of most college accounts in our universities at that time.

P. 302. *The Clark Avenar*] was the clerk who kept accounts of the oats and corn used in the stables. One of the towers in the outer court at Alnwick Castle, is called the Avenar's Tower.

P. 302. *Broaches*] are spits: 'a childe for the broches' was a boy to turn spits. To broche is to spit, to run through; hence the same verb is applied to a hogshead, or vessel of wine, as in p. 58, where it is ordered that vinegar be made of broken wines; and that when they are past drawing, and

can be set no more 'of broche,' [*i. e.* a-broach,] that then the 'lags' (or lees) be put into a vessel to make vinegar. In a secondary sense, a broach came to signify a lady's bodkin, and is so used by Shakspeare and other English writers of that day.

P. 310, *To ten of the clock* that my Lord goes to dinner.*] Ten o'clock continued to be the dining hour in the university of Cambridge in the reign of Edward VI. as appears from a very remarkable passage in a Sermon of Thomas Lever, (who was afterwards appointed first master of Emanuel college,) preached at Paul's Cross, 14th Dec. 1550, (small 8vo. bl. l. sign. E 11.) Speaking of the university of Cambridge, he says, 'There be dyners ther whych ryse dayly betwixt four and fyve, untill syxe of the clocke in the mornynge, and from fyve untill syxe of the clocke use common prayer wyth exhortacion of Gods worde in a common chappell, and from syxe untill ten of the clocke use ever eyther pryuate studye or commune lectures. At ten of the clocke they goe to Dynner, whereas (whereat) they be content wyth a peny-pyece of byefe amongst iiii, havynge a few potage made of the brothe of the same byefe, with salte and otemele and nothyng els. After thys slender dynner they be eyther teachyng or learnynge untill v of the clocke in the evenynge, when they haue a supper not muche better than theyr dynner. Imme-

* The frequent use of this word in the Household-Book shews, that clocks were then common.

dyately after the wyche, they goe eyther to reasonynge in problemes, or unto some other studye, untyll it be nyne or tenne of the clocke, and these being wythout fyre, are fayne to walke or runne up and downe halfe an houre to gette a heate on their feete when they goe to bedde.'

About the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the dining hour was somewhat later, though even then it was still kept up to ten o'clock in the universities, where the established custom is not so easily altered as in private families. 'With us,' says the author of the Description of England, prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicle, 'the nobilitie and gentrie and students do ordinarilie go to dinner *at eleven* before noone, and to supper at five or between five and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noone and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but *out of tearme* in our universities the *scholars dine at ten.*'

We have before seen, in note to p. 103, that eleven continued to be the dining hour among the nobility down to the middle of the 17th century. And yet one would imagine, that so early an hour as either ten or eleven must have very ill suited the nobility and gentry at a time when they were so generally addicted to all kinds of rural sports, and made them so much the great business of their lives.

ROYAL PREROGATIVE.

Greyhounds for the King's Use, &c.

THE following deputation or warrant to take greyhounds for the king's use, is so contrary to the liberties of the subject at the present day, that it cannot fail of being deemed a curiosity. It seems to have been founded on the ancient prerogative of purveyance, though its legality may be doubted, as between the date of the appointment of the Earl of Northampton to be Master of the Leash*, and that of the deputation or warrant, the right was abolished by the Stat. 12 Car. II. cap. 14. Whether the deputy was expected to pay for the dogs taken by him, as purveyors were by divers statutes required to do, we cannot determine, the warrant being silent on the subject. By the Statute 14 Edw. III. cap. 19, the sheriff only was to make purveyance for the king's dogs, *i. e.* to provide food for them; and in the warrant, the number of the dogs was to be expressed for which he was re-

* *Lesia*, a leash of greyhounds: the term is now restrained to the number three, but was formerly double, or perhaps indefinite. "Archiepiscopus Cant. et successores sui semel in quolibet anno, cum transierint per dictam Forestam (*i. e.* de Arundel) cum una lesia de sex leporariis sine aliis Canibus et sine Arcu, habeant unum cursum in eundo, et alium in redeundo."—Anno 43, Hen. III. *Reliq. Spelman.* p. 118. By the Charter of the Forest, any nobleman passing through it in his way to the king, *ad mandatum nostrum*, is allowed to take one or two deer, by view of the forester if he be present, or else he shall cause a horn to be blown, that he may not seem to steal the deer: and he has a similar privilege on returning.—Cap. xi.

quired to make the purveyance. As to the power contained in the warrant, of seizing all such dogs as were offensive to the game, this was agreeable to the laws of the forest, which gave power to the forester to retain all dogs found offending, and to send them to the king or the chief justice of the forest. By the Charter of the Forest, dogs kept therein (which Lord Coke confines to mastiffs only) were required to be clawed every year. This cutting off the claws of the forefoot, we apprehend, was intended to prevent the dog from chasing the deer, though the learned judge seems to suppose, that it was intended for the purpose of keeping the mastiff at home, "for the defence of the house, or for giving warning of thieves and robbers."—*4th Instit.* cap. lxxiii. p. 308.

"To all Justices of Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and other his Majesty's Officers and Ministers to whom it shall or may appertaine, greeting.

"Whereas his Ma'tie, by his highness l'res patent, bearing date the twenty-first day of September, in the twelfth year of his raigne, did license and authorise me James Earle of Northampton, Master of his Ma'ties Leash, and my assignes, to take for his Ma'ties use, and in his Ma'ties name, w'thin all places w'thin his Ma'ties realme and dominions, as well w'thin franchises and libertyes as without, such and so many greyhounds, both dogges and bitches, in whose custody soever they bee, as I the

said Earl of Northampton or my assigns shall think fitt or convenient for his Ma'ties disport and recreation, as appertaineth from time to time at all seasons, like as my predecessors, Masters of the Leash, or any other of them, in time of his Ma'ties progenitors, King Henry VIII. King Edward VI. or his late sister Queen Elizabeth, or of his Ma'ties late grandfather King James, or of his late deare and Royal father King Charles, of blessed memory, deceased, were authorized by them heretofore. And also his Ma'tie did thereby authorise mee the said Earle of Northampton and my assigns, to seize and take away all such greyhounds, beagles, or whippetts, as may any way be offensive to his Ma'ties game and disport; and further willing and commanding thereby all Justices of the Peace, Maiors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, and other his Ma'ties Officers, Ministers, and loving subjects, that unto mee the said Earle of Northampton and my assigns or deputyes in the due execution of his Ma'ties license and authority they be ayding, helping, and assisting, when and as often as need shall require, without their lett or contradiction, as they and every of them would answer the contrary at their perills; as in and by his Ma'ties said l'res patent, under the great seal of England more at large, it doth and may appear: Now know yee, that I the said James Earle of Northampton, Master of his said Ma'ties said Leash, have licensed and authorized Alexander Ekins of Weston Favell,

in the county of Northampton, Esq. to bee my deputy and assignee during the will and pleasure of mee the s'd Earle of Northampton, to take to his Ma'ties use, and in his Ma'ties name, within all places within tenne miles any way of Weston Favell aforesaid, as well within franchises and libertyes as without, such and so many greyhounds, both doggs and bitches, in whose custody soever they bee, as the said Alexander Ekins shall thinke meete and convenient for his Ma'ties disport and recreation, and in such and as ample manner and forme, as I the said Earle of Northampton may or might have done. And likewise I the said Earle of Northampton doe hereby authorize and depute the said Alexander Ekins by himself and his servants, to seize and take away all such greyhounds, beagles, or whippetts, as may any way be offensive to his Ma'ties game and disport, as fully and amply as I my selfe, by virtue of the said authority, may doe; I the said Earle of Northampton ratifying and allowing whatsoever the said Alexander Ekins shall lawfully, by virtue of the said l'res patent, and this my deputation or assignement, doe and execute. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale, the twenty-sixth day of March, in the eighteenth year of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles the Second of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Anno Dom. 1665.

“NORTHAMPTON.”

Account of the Body of EDWARD THE FIRST, as it appeared on opening his tomb in the year 1774.

By SIR JOSEPH AYLOFFE, BART., V. P. S. A. and F. R. S.

(*Read at the Society of Antiquaries, May 12, 1774.*)

THE royal warrants repeatedly issued by king Edward the Third, and his two immediate successors, directed to the treasurer and the chamberlains of their exchequer, ‘*De cera renovanda, circa corpus Regis Edwardi Primi,*’ (*concerning the renewal of the cere-cloth in which the body of Edward the First was wrapt,*) and the total silence of all our historians, and the public records, as to a similar attention having been paid to the corpse of any other of our deceased monarchs; are circumstances that not only indicate the high veneration in which king Edward the First was held during a long series of years after his decease; but when considered, together with the strong injunctions under which, it is said, that king, in his last moments, laid on his son, to send his heart to the holy land, attended by 140 knights, and to carry his remains along with the army until Scotland was reduced to obedience; gave rise to an opinion, that upon his decease a more than ordinary care was taken to preserve his body from putrefaction; and that, in subsequent times, the utmost endeavours were used for preventing decay.

At this distant period, it became difficult to as-

certain how far such an opinion may be founded on truth ; more especially, as the historians, who flourished in the reigns of his son and grandson, Edward the Second and Edward the Third, afford very little information on the subject, and as there was not now remaining, either in official books or elsewhere, any memoranda of the particular manner in which the corpse of king Edward the First was treated previous to its being laid in the sepulchre.

Weaver, who is the earliest of our English writers, that take notice of the before-mentioned instruments, ‘ *De cera renovandas,*’ appears to have made some enquiry into the purpose for which they were issued. That author, speaking of the death of king Edward the First, says, ‘Such was the care of his successors to keep his corpse from corruption, that the cere-cloth, wherein his embalmed body was enwrappt, was often renewed, as doth appear upon record.’ Mons. Rapin, relying on the same authority with Weaver, asserts, that the body of king Edward the First was done over with wax; and Mr. Dart speaks of it nearly in the words of Weaver, to whose book he refers.

In the year 1770, our worthy and respectable member, the Hon. Daines Barrington, whose incessant literary pursuits are confessedly employed for the emolument as well as the edification of the public, stated to the society the above circumstances, together with his sentiments thereon. At

the same time, he expressed his ardent wishes that the corpse of Edward the First, as entombed in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, at Westminster, might be inspected, in order to examine the state of preservation in which it then was ; and whether any remains of the composition, supposed to have been used to prevent its decay, were discoverable. His zeal for obtaining such inspection did not, however, rest satisfied with having barely propounded his wishes to the society. He frequently applied to the Reverend Dr. John Thomas, the Dean of Westminster, by means of his learned friend, Dr. Blair, one of the prebendaries of that church, for leave to open the royal tomb.

The application, extremely delicate in itself, was received by the Dean with that becoming and natural politeness, which renders him peculiarly amiable to all his acquaintance, and attended to by him in a manner which evinced his desire to oblige, so far as might be consistent with the importance of the favour asked, and a strict observance of the duty of his immediate station. After having maturely considered the request, and taken every imaginable precaution for preventing any injury being done, either to the Sarcophagus, or its royal contents, the Dean fixed the second day of this month for its being opened ; which was accordingly done, in the presence of himself and two of his prebendaries.

The tomb of King Edward the First,

Built in the form of an altar-table, stands at the west-end of the north-side of the Confessor's Chapel, and at the head of his father, king Henry the Third's monument, from which it is separated by the staircase and entrance, leading from the ambulatory into the chapel. It is in length, from out to out, nine feet seven inches; in height, from the floor of the chapel to the upper edge of the cover-stone, three feet seven inches; and is composed of only five slabs of Purbeck marble, each of them three inches in thickness. Two of these slabs form the sides, two the ends, and one the cover.

‘This tomb, which is quite plain, except that the under edge of the cover-stone is chamfered, or sloped off diagonally toward its upper edge, is raised upon a basement of freestone, which, extending every way near two feet beyond the tomb itself, forms an ascent to it of two steps above the pavement of the chapel. Each of these steps is six inches in height. On the south side, and at each end, it stands open to the chapel. But on the north side it is defended from the ambulatory by a grating of strong iron-work. The smaller upright bars of this grating, terminate at the height of five feet, in a fleur de lis; and the two standards, or end bars, finish in a small busto of an elderly man, with a long visage. A like busto is also

placed in the front part of the frame of the baldoquin, or canopy, built over the tomb. The workmanship of each of these bustos is very rude. And yet they have so much the resemblance of the face of king Edward the First, as exhibited on his coins, broad seal, and statue at Caernarvon Castle, that there is not much room to doubt of their having originally been intended to represent that monarch.

The Inscription.

**EDWARDVS PRIMVS SCOTORVM MALLEVS
HIC EST. PACTUM SERVA. 1308.**

Mentioned by several historians, as being placed on the north side of the tomb, is now greatly defaced, but not so much as to render it altogether illegible.

The form of the letters in this inscription, and the date of 1308, put, as is supposed, by mistake, instead of 1307, the year in which the king died, are urged as reasons for imagining that the inscription was not placed on the tomb until many years after the king's decease.

But, on the other hand, it is to be observed, that the letters of the inscription placed round the monument of king Edward the Confessor, which was erected in the reign of king Henry the Third, are exactly similar to those of the inscription here spoken of, those of both inscriptions being manifestly Roman capitals.

Appearance on opening the tomb.

On opening the tomb, the cover stone was found to be uncemented to the end and side slabs; and toward the upper edge of the latter were observed some small chasms or holes, which seemed to have been made by the insertion of an iron crow, or some such instrument, and to have been afterwards filled up with fine plaster. The joint between the top and sides, although made extremely close, was also drawn with the same material. As soon as the two ends of the corner-stone were raised upon three courses of blockings prepared for that purpose, there appeared within the tomb a plain coffin of Purbeck marble, laid on a bed of rubble-stone, which had been built up to such a height from the floor, as was necessary for bringing the upper side of the coffin lid into contact with the underside of the covering-stone of the tomb. This coffin, from out to out, is in length six feet seven inches, and in depth one foot four inches. The breadth, at the shoulders, is two feet seven inches; in the middle, two feet three inches; and at the feet, one foot and ten inches. The thickness of each side of this coffin, as also that of its lid, which is cut out of a block of Purbeck marble, is three inches. The lid hath not ever been cemented to the sides of the coffin, but appeared to be so closely and neatly fitted to them, that scarce any

dust could penetrate through the crevice. The outside of this coffin is stained with a yellow paint or varnish, and is much smoother than the outside of the tomb, partly owing to its having been less exposed to the air, and partly owing to the composition of the varnish. On lifting up the lid, the royal corpse was found, wrapped up within a large square mantle, of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diapered ; of a dull, pale, yellowish brown colour, and waxed on its under side.

The head and face were entirely covered with a sudarium, or face-cloth, of crimson sarcenet, the substance whereof was so much perished, as to have a cobweb-like feel, and the appearance of fine lint. This sudarium was formed into three folds, probably in imitation of the napkin wherewith our Saviour is said to have wiped his face when led to his crucifixion, and which the Romish Church positively assures us, consisted of the like number of folds, on each of which the resemblance of his countenance was then instantly impressed.

When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the sudarium removed, the corpse was discovered, richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost entire, notwithstanding the length of time that it had been entombed.

Its innermost covering seemed to have a very fine linen cere-cloth, dressed close to every part of the body, and superinduced with such accuracy and exactness, that the fingers and thumbs of both

the hands had each of them a separate and distinct envelope of that material. The face, which had a similar covering closely fitted thereto, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted.

Appearance of the face.

It was of a dark brown or chocolate colour, approaching to black; and so were the hands and fingers. The chin and lips were entire, but without any beard; and a sinking or dip, between the chin and under lip, was very conspicuous. Both the lips were prominent; the nose short, as if shrunk; but the apertures of the nostrils were visible. There was an unusual fall or cavity, on that part of the bridge of the nose which separates the orbits of the eyes; and some globular substance, possibly the fleshy part of the eye-balls, was moveable in their sockets under the envelope. Below the chin and under-jaw, was lodged a quantity of black dust, which had neither smell nor coherence; but whether the same had been flesh or spices, could not be ascertained.

One of the joints of the middle finger of the right hand was loose; but those of the left hand were quite perfect.

Ornaments of the Body, &c.

Next upon the before-mentioned cere-cloth was a dalmatic, or tunic, of red silk damask; upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three

inches in breadth, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards, nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. On this stole were placed, at about the distance of six inches from each other, quatrefoils of filigree work, in metal gilt with gold, elegantly chased in figure, and ornamented with five pieces of beautiful transparent glass or paste, some cut, and others rough, set in raised sockets. The largest of these pieces is in the centre of the quatrefoil; and each of the other four is fixed near to the angle: so that all of them together form the figure of a quincunx. These false stones differ in colour. Some are ruby; others a deep amethyst: some, again, are sapphire; others white; and some a sky-blue.

The intervals between the quatrefoils on the stole are powdered with an immense quantity of very small white beads, resembling pearls drilled, and tacked down very near each other, so as to compose an embroidery of most elegant form, and not much unlike that which is commonly called the true lovers' knot. These beads, or pearls, are also of the same size, and equal to that of the largest pin's head. They are of a shining, silver white hue, but not so pellucid as necklace beads and mock-pearls usually are.

Over these habits is the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent fibula of metal gilt with gold,

and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable acus, and resembling a cross garnet hinge. This 'fibula' is four inches in length, richly chased, and ornamented with four pieces of red, and four of blue, transparent paste, similar to those on the quatrefoils, and twenty-two beads, or mock-pearls. Each of these pastes and mock-pearls is set in a raised and chased socket. The head of the 'acus' is formed by a long piece of uncut transparent blue paste, shaped like an acorn, and fixed in a chased socket.

The lower joint of this 'fibula' appears to be connected with the stole, as well as with the chlamys; so that the upper parts of each of the lappets, or straps of the stole, being thereby brought nearly into contact with the edge of the royal mantle, those straps form, in appearance, a guard, or border thereto.

The corpse, from the waist downwards, is covered with a large rich figured piece of cloth of gold, which lies loose over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and is tucked down behind the soles of the latter. There did not remain any appearance of gloves; but on the back of each hand, and just below the knuckle of the middle finger, lies a quatrefoil, of the same metal as those on the stole, and like them ornamented with five pieces of transparent paste; with this difference, however, that the centre-piece in each quatrefoil is larger, and seemingly of a more beau-

tiful blue, than those on any of the quatrefoils on the stole.

Between the two forefingers, and the thumb of the right hand, the King holds a sceptre, with the cross made of copper-gilt. This sceptre is two feet six inches in length, and of most elegant workmanship. Its upper part extends unto, and rests on, the king's right shoulder.

Between the two forefingers and the thumb of his left hand, he holds the rod, or sceptre, with the dove, which, passing over his left shoulder, reaches up as high as his ear. This rod is five feet and half an inch in length. The stalk is divided into two equal parts by a knob fillet, and at its bottom is flat ferule.

The top of the stalk terminates in three bouquets, or tiers of oak leaves, of green enamel, in alto-relievo, each bouquet diminishing in breadth as they approach toward the summit of the sceptre, whereon stands a ball, or mound, surmounted by the figure of a dove, with its wings closed, and made of white enamel.

On the head of the corpse, which lies within a recess hollowed out of the stone coffin, and properly shaped for its reception, is an open crown, or fillet of tin, or latten, charged on its upper edge with trefoils, and gilt with gold, but evidently of inferior workmanship, in all respects, to that of the sceptre and quatrefoils.

The shape and form of the crown, sceptre, and

fibula, and the manner in which the latter is fixed to the mantle, or chlamys, exactly correspond with the representation of those on the broad seal of that king, as exhibited by Sandiford, in his genealogical history of the kings and queens in England.

On a careful inspection of the fingers on both hands, no ring could be discovered. However, as it cannot be supposed that the corpse was deposited without that usual attendant ensign of royalty, we may with great probability conjecture, that, on the shrinking of the fingers, which must have been the consequence of length of time, and the operation of the antiseptics applied to them, the royal ring had slipped off from the finger, and buried in some parts of the robes, none of which were disturbed in order to search for it.

The feet, with their toes, soles, and heels, seemed to be perfectly entire; but whether they have sandals on them, or not, is uncertain, as the cloth tucked over them was not removed.

On measuring the body by a rod, graduated into inches, divided into quarters, it appeared to be exactly six feet and two inches in length. So that, although we may, with some degree of propriety, adapt the ideas of those historians who tell us, that the king was taller than the generality of men; yet we can no longer credit those who assert, that he was taller by the head than any other man of his time. How far the appellation of Longshanks, usually given to him, was properly applicable,

cannot be ascertained, since the length of the tibiæ could not be truly measured, and compared with that of the femora, without removing the vestments, and thereby incurring a risk of doing injury to the corpse.

It hath been conjectured, that he obtained the nickname of Longshanks, from a manifest disproportion in the length of his thighs and legs, to that of his body. But, on inspection of the corpse, so far as could be done without removing the robes, no such disproportion was observable. Perhaps, therefore, we may not deviate from truth, should we suppose, with Mr. Sandiford, that such appellation was given to him on account of the height of his stature, and not from any extravagant length either of his thighs or legs.

There is still preserved, in Westminster Abbey, among the figures that compose what is called the ragged regiment, the effigy, which, according to the custom of ancient times, lay upon Edward the First's coffin, during the funeral procession and exequies; and which figure, in all likelihood, was afterwards placed on his tomb, and there continued a considerable time: for Peter Langtoft, who did not survive that monarch above six years, speaking of his death and burial, says,

From Waltham before-said to Westmyenster thei him brought,
Besides his fadre he is laid, in a tomb well wrought,
Of marble is the stone, and putried there he lies.

The length of the legs in this figure, measuring

from the sole of the foot to the cap of the knee, is twenty-one inches and half. No positive conclusion, however, can be fairly drawn from thence, as to what was the exact stature of King Edward, or as to the proportion which the length of his legs bore to that of the whole, or any particular part of his body; because this figure was certainly made taller than the real stature of the King, as is evident, not only from the before-mentioned measure taken of the royal corpse, but from the cavity of the stone coffin, which is not capable of receiving a body six feet five inches in length. Probably the figure-maker, according to the practice of those times, applying his attention principally to the making a perfect resemblance of the features and visage of the defunct, neglected to model and form the figure to the exact and real height of Edward's stature.

The apparelling the corpse of the monarch in his royal vestments, accompanied with the ensigns of regality, as before described, is not, on any account, to be considered as a peculiar mark of respect paid to him in contra-distinction to preceding kings, but as being done merely in conformity to usual and ancient custom.

He was, on this occasion, habited '*more regio*,' i. e. in the same manner that the corpses of all other kings, his predecessors, had been dressed, in order to their sepulture: and similar, except in some few particulars only, to a mode, or regulation, established by authority, '*De Exequiis regalibus*.'

A copy of this regulation is entered in the *Liber Regalis*, immediately after the formulary for the coronation of our English monarchs.

I have already mentioned, that, previous to the removal of the top stone of King Edward's tomb, the Dean of Westminster, who was present from the opening to the shutting it up, had taken every possible precaution that no damage might be done, either to the royal body or its sarcophagus. The like vigilance was observed by him, during the time the coffin continued open ; so that the corpse did not receive the least violation or injury ; neither was it despoiled of any of its vestments, regalia, or ornaments. On the contrary, all things were suffered to remain in the same condition, situation, and place, wherein they were found. After the spectators had taken a sufficient view, the top of the coffin, and the covering stone of the tomb, were restored to their proper places, and fastened down by a strong cement of terrice, before the Dean retired from the chapel.

UNPUBLISHED PARTICULARS CONNECTED WITH THE
RESIGNATION OF THE CROWN OF ENGLAND TO
THE POPE, BY KING JOHN.

(*From a Manuscript in the French National Library,
by F. I. G. de la Porte du Theil.*)

THE manuscript, of which M. du Theil treats, is a collection of the state papers and other diplomatic

concerns of Pope Innocent II. The particular matter relating to our present subject, is the real object of the embassy of Rob. de Courçon to France.

To understand properly, (says Monsieur Porte du Theil,) the real view of the embassy of Robert, what reasons the Pope had for sending him, and what instructions were probably given him; it is necessary to state clearly what was; at this era, the situation of France and England. I shall not enlarge upon the state of things in general; it is known to every body. I shall only mention some particularities, neglected by modern historians, which serve to explain in a better light that grand *denouement* of affairs and cabals, through which King John was reduced to the necessity of putting himself entirely at the mercy of the Pope.

Situation of John, King of England, after the year 1212.

Innocent had dictated the terms and conditions upon which he consented to restore his favour to King John, against whom he had been so virulent, and addressed them to his Nuncios, Pandolph and Durand, February 27, 1213.

John, passive under the influence of fear, accepted these terms and conditions, as severe as dishonourable, and by an act, dated 13th of May, engaged to execute them faithfully. Upon the day after the morrow, by another act equally solemn, he acknowledged himself to be a vassal

and tributary of the Holy See, and assured the Pope of his eternal fidelity. Upon the 24th of the same month, he recalled the exiled prelates, who had originally raised against him the tempest to which he was compelled to submit.

Whilst this prince, worthy in so many respects of the infamy with which he voluntarily loaded his memory, resolved upon such sacrifices to reconcile himself with the Pope, he took the most regular measures to be revenged of the King of France.

From the middle of the preceding year, 1212, he had negociated with Otho, that other memorable example of the power, creative and destructive, which Innocent exercised over the sovereigns of Europe; and had sent to that emperor, deposed and excommunicated like himself, ambassadors charged to bind strong the ties of interest, which, independent of relationship, united for a long time these unfortunate princes.

Otho, the implacable enemy of Philip (King of France), charmed with this overture, had engaged the Count de Boulogne, Renaud de Dammartin, to adopt the party of the King of England. At his solicitation, the Count had crossed the sea, had promised John to obey his orders, had publicly made homage to him, and had sworn not to make, without John's consent, any peace, or truce, either with Philip, or Lewis, the Dauphin. He had given, as hostages, his wife, and many of his vassal lords.

At the same time he had brought, from Otho, letters, in which that prince assured the King of England of his inclination to serve him with all his forces ; he had further protested, that he had never received, as he had been accused, any embassies on the part of Philip, and repeated the oath, of listening to no accommodation without participation of the emperor.

These facts we learn by the letter which John himself wrote, May 4, 1212, to the Viscount de Thouars, to strengthen his attachment to his party.

The same day, John had written also to the Count de Flandres, to induce him to engage himself to him, with the Comte de Boulogne ; and, with the view of further inducement, he had lent, for a year, three thousand marks to the Countess of Flanders.

Lastly, upon the same day also, he had signed his definitive treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Comte de Boulogne.

It appears also, by different acts, that, about the same time, he was assured of the Duke de Lembourg, de Valeran, son of that duke, the Counts de Bar, father and son, the Duke of Louvain, and many other lords. Lastly, March 29, 1213, he had received the homage, and engagement of service, of the Count de Hollande.

The Certainty of his Reconciliation with the Pope facilitated the means, not only of resisting the Attacks which France was preparing against him, but

of transferring the War himself into the Bosom of that Kingdom.

On the 25th of May he wrote to the Earl of Flanders, pressing him to send more powerful succours than those which had already arrived ; and on the 26th of June following, he renewed the same assurance. In fact, four days before, he had the Master of the Temple to remit to the ambassadors, whom he had sent to the earl, a sum of money, which the master had under his care, and which was reserved for the use of the earl.

At the same time, the English king urged the King of Arragon to put in execution the projects for a campaign, which had been previously concerted with him.

The Pope, at the epoch, when he named Robert de Courçon legate of France, that is, towards the end of April, 1213, certainly was not ignorant of all these intentions and projects. It was not, then, without truth, nor assuredly without reason, that, in the letter in which he recommended Robert to Philip August, he mentioned the impending peril which menaced France. But, was he equally sincere, or did he only use a language suitable to him, as a matter of course, when he added, in the same letter, that the interests of France were dearer to him than those of the Ecclesiastical See ? In fact, if the interests of that so valued kingdom were then in danger, who other than he was the occasion of it ? Had he not himself the year before

engaged, even commanded, Philip, under penalty of excommunication, to levy war against John? Had he not, under his pretended apostolical authority, transferred to Philip all the rights of a prince, then the object of ecclesiastical persecution? Had not he assured him of the assistance of all those whom the exhortations of the Holy See could rouse against an excommunicated and deposed king? Was it not, then, a kind of duplicity by which he ordered Pandolph and Durand, that, as soon as the rebel king submitted to the laws of the Vatican, all his enemies should be ordered to disarm, principally Philip, and respect John?

We are led to think, that even the personal choice of the legate, born a subject of the King of England, was, on the side of the pontiff, a consequence of his habitual partiality to England against France. In fact, Robert did not cease to manage his business in such a manner, as to favour in every thing the affairs of the King of England, and thwart the views which could aggrandise the power of Philip.

*** (Here ends the account of M. de la Porte du Theil, who has certainly elucidated an important fact in English history, not before clearly understood. He might have added, that the crafty Pope, by duping both the kings, though in a bare-faced manner, succeeded in subjugating them both to the ecclesiastical yoke. Philip, however, does not seem to have been aware that the Pope, seeing the consequences of his successful excommunications

of Otho and John, treated the French king in a manner which he had no power to prevent or resent.)

A CURIOUS ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN ROYAL DISBURSEMENTS AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

AN extraordinary instance of the rude manners of our country in ancient times appears from the following extract from a curious and authentic manuscript, a copy of which is in the possession of an eminent antiquary. This manuscript contains, among other things, the private expences of that weak, misguided, and unfortunate monarch, Edward II.; by which it appears that *Cross and Pile*, or, as it is now called, tossing up heads and tails, was a favourite royal diversion in those remote times of rude simplicity. The following translation from the old French, in which it is written, may afford some entertainment to such as are fond of contemplating human life under the various aspects which it exhibits, according to the difference of ages or the difference of countries:—

‘ *Item*. Paid to the king himself, to play at cross and pile, by the hands of Richard de Mereworth, the Receiver of the Treasury—twelve pence.

‘ *Item*. Paid there to Henry, the king’s barber, for money which he lent to the king, to play at cross and pile—five shillings.

‘ *Item*. Paid there to Peres Bernard, Usher of

the King's Chamber, money which he lent to the king, and which he lost at cross and pile, to Monsieur Robert Watervylle—eight-pence.

‘*Item.* Paid to the king himself, to play at cross and pile, by Peres Bernard, two shillings, which the said Peres won of him.’

SINGULAR INSTANCE OF CHIVALRIC PROWESS IN THE
REIGN OF EDWARD III.

ABOUT the middle of the fourteenth century, in the reign of Edward III, a singular instance occurred of the prevalence of chivalry and gallantry in the nations of Europe. A solemn duel of thirty knights against thirty was fought between Bembrough, an Englishman, and Beaumanoir, a Briton, of the party of Charles of Blois. The knights of the two nations came into the field; and before the combat began, Beaumanoir called out, that it would be seen that day who had the fairest mistresses. After a bloody combat, the Britons prevailed, and gained for their prize full liberty to boast of their mistresses' beauty. It is remarkable, that two such famous generals as Sir Robert Knowllis and Sir Hugh Calverly drew their swords in this ridiculous contest. The women not only instigated the champions to these rough, if not bloody, frays of tournaments, but also frequented the tournaments during all the reign of Edward, whose spirit of gallantry encouraged this practice.—*Pere Daniel & Knyghton.*

A CURIOUS KING'S SPEECH.

THE following curious royal speech is the first on record in the parliamentary history of England. It was delivered in the year 1106, by King Henry I. to the great barons of the realm, whom he had summoned, by a royal mandate, to meet at London. He had dispossessed his elder brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, of his right of succession to the English crown; and being apprehensive of his injured brother's designs against him, he endeavoured, by the most artful insinuations, to engage the barons in his interest:—

‘ My Friends and faithful subjects, both Foreigners and Natives :

‘ You all know very well that my brother Robert was both called by God, and elected king of Jerusalem, which he might have happily governed; and how shamefully he refused that rule, for which he justly deserves God's anger and reproof. You know also, in many other instances, his pride and brutality; because he is a man that delights in war and bloodshed: he is impatient of peace. I know that he thinks you a parcel of contemptible fellows: he calls you a set of drunkards and gluttons, whom he hopes to tread under his feet. I, truly a king, meek, humble, and peaceable, will preserve and cherish you in your ancient liberties, which I have formally sworn to perform; will hearken to your wise counsel with patience, and will govern you justly, after the example of the best princes. If

you desire it, I will strengthen this promise with a written charter; and all those laws which the holy king Edward, by the inspiration of God, so wisely enacted, I will again swear to keep inviolably. If you, my brethren, will stand by me faithfully, we will easily repulse the strongest efforts the cruellest enemy can make against me and these kingdoms. If I am only supported by the valour and power of the English nation, all the weak threats of the Normans will no longer seem formidable to me.'

LETTER OF PRINCE HENRY, (AFTERWARDS KING
HENRY V. THE CONQUEROR OF AGINCOURT.)

OUR national history is indebted to Mr. Luden for having drawn from obscurity the following letter of our glorious King Henry V., which he wrote when a youth, to the king, his father, with the news of a victory he had just gained over the rebel Glendour, when he was only in the eighteenth year of his age. The original is said to be in French, in Rymer's *Acta Regia*, copied from a MS. in the British Museum.

“Most dread Sovereign Lord and Father:

“In the most humble manner that I may in my heart devise, I recommend myself to your Royal Majesty, humbly praying your gracious blessing. Most dread Sovereign Lord and Father, I sincerely beseech God graciously to shew his providence towards you in all places! for on Wednesday, the

11th of this instant month of March, your rebels of Glamorgan, Morgannock, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, drew together to the number of 8000 men, by their own account; and went, in the morning of the same day, and burnt part of your town of Grosmont, within your lordship of Monmouth and Jenvia.

“ ————— * Only my well-beloved cousin, the Lord Talbot, and the little troop of my household; and there joined them your brave and faithful knights, William Newport and John Greindre, who made but a very small power altogether. But true it is, that *the victory is not in the multitude of people* (and thus was it well seen there), *but in the might of the Lord.*

“ And there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your men won the field, and overcame all the said rebels; of whom they slew in the field, by fair reckoning upon our return from the pursuit, some say 800, and some 1000, being questioned upon pain of death. Nevertheless, be it one or the other in this account, I will not dispute.

“ And to give you full information of the whole affair, I send you a person worthy of credit therein, one of my faithful servants, the bearer hereof, who was in the battle, and very satisfactorily performed his duty, as he has ever done.

* ‘ There is something defective here. The French words of the manuscript are, as in the print, *tantost hors*, which I can make nothing of.’

“Now, such amends hath God ordained you for the burning of four houses in your town aforesaid. And no prisoners were taken except one who was a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you, but that he is not yet able to bear the journey.

“And with respect to the course I propose to hold hereupon, please your Highness to give entire credence to the bearer hereof, in what he will himself inform your Highness on my part. And pray God ever keep you in joy and honour, and grant that I may shortly have to comfort you with more good news.

“Written at Hereford, the said Wednesday at at night.

“Your most humble and obedient Son,

“HENRY.”

*** The admirers of Shakspeare will have no reason to be displeased with the learned Author's correction of their favourite poet's mistake in this great prince's character ; for he brings satisfactory proof that the blame should fall upon the historian, and not upon Shakspeare.

ACCOUNT OF THE ABBEYS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION; THEIR RENTAL, ORDER, AND THE REVENUE THAT ACCRUED TO THE KING AT THEIR DISSOLUTION, &c.

BEFORE the dissolution of Monasteries in England, twenty-seven abbots, sometimes twenty-nine, and

two priors, almost all Benedictines, held baronies, and sat in parliament. The abbeyes which enjoyed this privilege were, 1st. St. Albans, valued, at the dissolution, according to the king's books, in Dugdale, at 2102*l. per annum*; according to vulgar computation, in Speed, at 2510*l. per annum*. 2d. Glastonbury, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, valued at 3311*l.* in Dugdale, at 3500*l.* in Speed. 3d. St. Austin's, at Canterbury, which was returned into the Exchequer to be endowed with 1413*l. per annum*; the Cathedral Priory of Christ Church in that city being valued at 2387*l.* 4th. Westminster Abbey, valued at 3471*l.* in Dugdale, at 3977*l.* in Speed. Maitland (History of London and Westminster, p. 391) observes, that 3977*l.*, at the time of the dissolution, was a sum equal to 20,000*l.* at present: and that Westminster Abbey was, with this yearly income, far the richest in all England. It also surpassed all the other abbeyes, by the surprising treasure of rich plate and precious ornaments. 5th. Winchester Abbey; founded by St. Byrinus and Kyn-gilse, the first Christian king of the West Saxons, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, but in latter ages called St. Swithin's, was valued at 1507*l.* 6th. St. Edmund's Bury, built by King Canutus, valued at 1659*l.* in Dugdale; at 2336*l.* in Speed. 7th. Ely, where the valuation of the abbey restored by St. Ethelwold was 1084*l.*; that of Bishopric, 2134*l.* 8th. Abingdon, founded by Cedwalla and Ina, king of the West Saxons, in honour of the B. Virgin

Mary, valued at 1876*l*. 9th. Reading Abbey, built by Henry II., valued at 1938*l*. 10th. Waltham, which was founded a noble collegiate church by Earl Harold in 1602, and made by Henry II. a royal abbey, of regular canons of St. Austin, under the title of the Holy Cross, was valued at 900*l*. in Dugdale, at 1079*l*. in Speed. 12th. St. Peter's, in Gloucester, founded by Wulfere and Ethelred, kings of Mercia, valued at 1550*l*., made a cathedral by Henry VIII. 13th. Tewksbury, valued at 1598*l*. It was founded in 715, by Doddo, a prime nobleman of Mercia, who became a monk at Pershore. 14th. Winchelcomb, in Gloucestershire, valued at 759*l*. It was founded by Offa and Kenulph, kings of Mercia. 15th. Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, founded by Ailwyne, Alderman of England, and Earl of the East Angles, in honour of the B. Virgin and St. Bennet, rated at 1716*l*. 16th. Bardney, in Lincolnshire. After being demolished by the Danes in 870, who slew there three hundred monks, it was rebuilt by William the Conqueror. 17th. Crowland, valued at 1087*l*. in Dugdale, at 1217*l*. in Speed. 18th. St. Bennet's in Hulm, in Norfolk, founded about the year 800, valued at 585*l*. This abbacy was given by Henry VIII. to the Bishops of Norwich, in exchange for the estates formerly belonging to that see, then valued at the yearly income of 1050*l*. From which time the Bishops of Norwich remain the only abbots in England. The great monastery of the Holy Trinity in Norwich was

valued at 1061*l.* per annum. 19th. Peterborough Abbey, begun by Peada, King of Mercia, in 655; rebuilt by Adulf, Chancellor to King Edgar, who became himself a monk, and died abbot of this house. The revenues of this abbey were rated, in the 26th year of Henry VIII., at 1921*l.*, according to the clear value, in Dugdale, and at 1972*l.* according to the computed value. Henry VIII. spared this church out of regard to the ashes of his injured queen, Katharine, and converted the abbey into an episcopal see; which is now charged in the king's books with 414*l.* 20th. Battle Abbey, in Sussex, founded by William the Conqueror, in honour of St. Martin, valued at 880*l.* 21st. Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, valued at 803*l.* 22d. Whitby, anciently called Streaneshalch, founded by King Oswi, in favour of St. Theder, in 657. It was destroyed by the Danes, but rebuilt for Monks, after the Conquest, in honour of St. Peter and St. Hilder. 23d. Selby, in Yorkshire, begun by William the Conqueror, in honour of St. Peter and St. Germanus, rated at 729*l.* 24th. St. Mary's, at York, built in the reign of William Rufus, valued at 2085*l.* in Speed. The other mitered abbeys were those of Shrewsbury, Cirencester, Evesham, Tavistock, and Hyde at Winchester. (See Brown Willis's History of Mitred Abbeys.) Also two Priors had seats in the House of Lords, namely, Coventry, and of the Knights Hospitallers, or of Malta, in London, 2385*l.*; of twenty-eight other houses of that order,

3026*l.*; seven houses of Trinitarians, (which are all we find the valuation of, the rest having probably no real foundations), 287*l.*

By an act which was passed in the Parliament in March 1535, by the suppression of 181 lesser monasteries, a revenue of 32,000*l.* *per annum* came to the crown, besides 100,000*l.* in plate and jewels. But the greater houses of the Knights of Malta were seized by the king in 1540. Afterwards, in 1548, were granted to King Edward VI., and suppressed, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries and free chapels. The churches in all the northern kingdoms, as Denmark, Sweden, &c., were stripped much more naked by the change of religion.

The revenues of the clergy were laid at one-fourth part of the revenues of the kingdom, in the 27th of Henry VIII., as may be seen in Compl. History. And Mr. Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 108, says, the revenues of the monks never did exceed one-fifth part; and considering that the leases were granted upon small rents, and easy fines, it may truly be affirmed their revenues did not exceed a tenth part of the nation. Thus Bishop Tanner, pref. p. 7.

Monasteries in England are no more; yet justice is due to an order of men, which was formerly an illustrious part of the nation, and abounded with persons eminent for birth, learning, and piety. The veil which death throws over the ashes of good

and great men, is sacred, and to cast dirt upon their shrine is shocking to the most savage barbarians. Yet of this some have made a point of merit. Bishop Burnet says, 'the monks were become lewd and dissolute, when their order was suppressed among us.' But Mr. Henry Wharton, under the name of Anthony Harmur, in his *Specimen of Burnett's History of the Reformation*, answers this slander in the following words, p. 42. 'God forbid than any professors of Christianity, much less the greatest pretenders to it, should be guilty of monstrous wickedness, or that any other should believe it of them without evident proof. Surely, if the monks had been guilty of any such thing, it could not have escaped the knowledge of their visitors, who searched and divulged all their faults with the utmost industry. Nor would it have been unknown to Bale, brought up among them; nor omitted by him in his *English Votaries*, wherein he had set himself to defame the monastic order and the unmarried clergy, with insatiable malice.' The same learned Protestant divine and historian, in answer to another charge of Bishop Burnett, importing that the monks, about the end of the eighth century, had possessed themselves of the greatest part of the riches of the nation, shews (p. 40), that the monks had not then probably gained possession of the hundredth part of the riches of the nation, though they afterwards, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, increased exceedingly in number and possessions. 'But after all,' says he, 'they

will never be found to have possessed above a fifth part of the nation ; and, considering they were wont to lease out of their hands to laymen, for easy fines and small rents, they did not in reality possess the tenth part of the riches of the nation.' Then, in answer to that other charge, that the best part of the soil being in such ill hands, it was the interest of the nation to put it to better use, it is altogether erroneous. ' From the beginning to the end, none ever improved their lands and possessions to better advantages than the monks, by building, cultivation, and all other methods, while they kept them in their own hands.' Of this, Croyland is to this day a memorable instance. ' And when they leased them out to others, it was the interest of the nation to have such easy tenures continued to great numbers of persons who enjoyed them. To this may be added, that they contributed, in proportion, above the laity ; so that we cannot find to what better uses these possessions have been since put,' &c.

Bishop Tanner also observes, that the church lands, after the Conquest, contributed to all public burthens equally with the laity. Walsingham, p. 180, and Patrick, in his addit. to Gunton, p. 321, say, that in the reign of Richard II., A. D. 1379, every mitred abbot paid as much to the tax as an earl, and 6*s.* 8*d.* for every monk in his monastery. In 18th Edward II., A. D. 1289, the Abbot of St. Edmundbury paid 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to the fifteenth.—See

Cowell's Interpreter, *Sub. voce Quinsieme*; also Reymer, vol. ii., p. 75, and Steven's Appendix, p. 108. See a justification and apology for monks and monastic orders in *Monasticon Fevrshamense, or a Survey of the Monastery of Feversham*, by Thomas Southouse, of Gray's Inn, London, 1634.

Of the Benedictine order were all our cathedral priories, except Carlisle, and most of the richest abbeys in England. Reymer (vol. i.) says, that the revenue of the Benedictines was almost equal to those of all the other orders. Sir Robert Atkyns says, there was in England, before the Reformation, 45,009 churches, and 55,000 chapels; now only about 10,000. Dr. Bently, under the name Philoleutherus Lipsionsis, in remarks upon a late discourse of free thinking, says, that out of 10,000 parish churches, there are 6000 the yearly income of which does not exceed 50*l.* each. On the then state of the church revenues in England, see that Treatise in Dean Pridcaux, on the Origin and Right of Tithes.

LETTERS FROM KING HENRY VIII. TO ANNE

BOLEYN*.

To Anne Boleyn.

MY SWEETHEART AND FRIEND,

I and my heart put themselves into your hands, begging of thee to take them to your favour; and

* These letters are presented to our readers rather as curiosities than as models of excellence. They illustrate the observation of

that by my being absent from you, your affection may not be diminished towards them ; for it would be a great pity to augment their pain, for absence gives me enough and more than ever, and more than I could have thought, and calls to my remembrance a point of Astronomy, which is this ; that by how much farther the Moors are distant from the Sun, the heat is notwithstanding more fervent. So it is with our love : for though we are personally distant from each other, the heat of love remains, at least on our side, and I hope the same on yours, assuring you, that the anxiety of absence is already too great ; and when I think of the augmentation thereof which I must still suffer, if it was not for the firm hope I have of your inviolable affection towards me, to put you in remembrance of that, since I cannot be personally with you at present, I send you the nearest likeness to it I can, to wit, my picture set in bracelets, the only device which I have left, wishing myself in their place whenever it shall please you. Written by the hand of your servant and friend.

From the same to the same.

MY SWEETHEART AND FRIEND,

I heartily thank you for your handsome present, than which, well weighing the whole, nothing is more beautiful, not only for the beautiful diamond

Hume, that at intervals this prince was not altogether destitute of virtue ; that he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable, at least, of a temporary friendship and attachment.

and vessel in which the solitary damsel is tossed ; but principally for the beautiful interpretation and most humble submission, by your goodness in this case made use of, well thinking, that to merit this by opportunity will be very difficult, if your great humanity and favour did not assist me, for which I have watched, watch, and will watch all opportunities of retaliation possible ; to remain in which, my whole hope has placed its immutable intention, which says, *aut illic, aut nullibi.*

The demonstrances of your affection are such, the beautiful words, the letters so affectionately couched, which, in truth, oblige for ever to honour you, love and serve you ; begging of you to continue in this firm and constant purpose ; on my part assuring you, that I will rather augment it, than make it reciprocal, if loyalty of heart, desire of pleasing you, without any other motive, may advance it ; praying you, that if any time heretofore I have given you offence, that you would give me the same pardon that you ask ; assuring you, that for the future, my heart shall be wholly dedicated to you, much desiring that the body might be also, as God can do it if he pleases, to whom I beg once a day to do it, hoping that in time my prayers may be heard, wishing the time to be short, thinking it very long to our review.

Written by the hand of my secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is your loyal and most assured servant.

*From Queen Anne Boleyn to King Henry *.*

SIR,

Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as to what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas, you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth, indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn; with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my

* Who could possibly imagine, that the passionate lover in the preceding letters, would so soon be converted into the savage husband? What Nature! what elegance! in the following letter. How much does it exalt the character of this beautiful and injured queen! Still it made no impression on the heart of her unrelenting tyrant.

preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert and desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace let not any light fancy or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial (for my truth shall fear no open shame;) then shall you see mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and my offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me, as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some while since have pointed unto your grace, being not ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but

an infamous slander must bring you to the enjoyment of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies the instruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincipely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgement seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgement, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn has been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, the 16th May, your most loyal and ever faithful wife.

EXTRACTS RELATIVE TO THE HOUSEHOLD OF
HENRY VIII.

THE following articles are from the fragment of a manuscript volume, or common-place book, of

some person probably holding an official situation in the household of Henry the Eighth.

‘Md. yt ys agreyd Compossissions that the fellowshyppe of the pulters shall s’ue the kyngs magestey wythe thes kynds of pultry stuffe folloyng, on the pryce as here after aperythe :

Swannes the pece, vs.

Craunes	}	the pece, iijs.
Busterds		
Storks		

Herncsewys	}	the pece, xvij <i>d</i> .
Showelerds		
Bytters		

Pecokks old the pece, ijs.

Pechykks the pece, xiiij*d*.

Capons of gr. [growth] of the best the pece, xx*d*.

Capons good the pece, xiiij*d*.

Capons the pece, viij*d*.

Hennes of gr. the pece, vij*d*.

Brewes and Egrets the pece, xij*d*.

Gulles the pece, xij*d*.

Mewz the pece, v*d*.

Grene Geese from Ester tyll Mydsomer y^e pece, vij*d*.

Gesse grett from mydsomer tell shroftyde y^e pece, viij*d*.

Goodwytt the pece, xij*d*.

Dotterels the dosen, iijs. iiij*d*.

Quayles the dosen, iijs.

Sparrowes the dosen, iiij*d*.

Pegyons the dosen, viijd.
 Rabbets socars the dosen, xvij*d*.
 Connys tell hallontyd the dosen, ijs.
 Wynter conys from hallontyd tyll Shroftyd the
 dosen, ijs. vjd.
 Mallards the dosen, iijs.
 Teelles the dosen, ijs.
 Wegeons the dosen, iijs.
 Wodcoks the dosen, iijs.
 Plovers grey the dosen, iijs.
 Bastarde Plovers the dosen, ijs. vjd.
 Marles the dosen, xvij*d*.
 Henne spyts the dosen, xvij.
 Larks the dosen, vjd.
 Buntyngs the dosen, iiij*d*.
 Greate byrds the dosen, vjd.
 Eggs from Ester to Myghelmas, xvjd.
 Eggs from Myghelmas tyll Ester, xx*d*.
 Butter swete from Ester to Hallontyd the pownde,
 ij*d*.
 Butter swete from Hallontyd tell Ester the pownde,
 iiij*d*."

" [1536] Md. the xvjth day of Aprell the xxvijth
 yere of the reigne of Kinge Henry the viij that John
 Wylkynson of Busshopgate strete in London,
 scourer of sinks, hath couvenanted and bargayned
 w^t Edmunde Pekham, Coferer ; Thomas Hatterlyf
 and Edward Weldon, clerks of the g'neclothe and
 William Thynne, clerke, comptroller of the kings
 hon'able housholde ; that he the saide John Wilkyn-

son for the wags of xxvjs. viij*d*. and oon cote clothe, color red, of the price of vs. viij*d*. to be paied and geven vnto hym yerely, the said wags to be to hym q'rterly paid by even porcionz : shall scoure, clense and substancially make clene all and eu'y of the synks belonginge vnto the kechyns w'in any of the kyngs houses at Wyndesor, Rychemont, Hampton-co't, the More, Westm'. Grenewiche, and Eltham euery qu'ter of the yere oone tyme yerely, if that he so often shal be com'anded by any of the officers aboue mencyned to do the same; and if he shall at any tyme refuse so to do, then he to haue his q'rter wags or more as the cace shall requyre, defaulted and taken away. In wittyness herof the said John Wilkinson to this agreement hath putte his m'ke the daye and yere aboue wrytten,"

“ Asysse of talwod, byllet, tysard and fagott :

Euery shyld of talwod in lenght iiij foote of assyse besyd the Carf.

Euery talshyld of on [one] in the mydes to be of gretnes xx ynches of assyse.

Euery talshyld of ij of gretnes in y^e mydes xxvj ynches.

Euery talshyld of iiij xxxviiij ynches of assyse.

Euery talshyld of v xliiiij ynches.

And that no talshyld be made of any moo shyldes than v.

Euery bedd of fagotte to be in lenght iij foote and the bande contayne iij quarters of a yarde besyde the knotte.

And that no byllet be put to sale but syngle byllet, wythe owt any marke.

Euery Essex byllet conteyn in lenght iij footte, w^t the carfe ; in gretnes in mydes xv ynches."

" M'd. That the lorde meyor of the cetey of London for the tyme beyng, may and doth assise after what rate and pryce the Colyers bryng Colys to the said cetey than shall sele the same.

It. The said lorde mayor hath officers appoynted to se that eu'y Cole sake comyng to the Cetey be of lenght ij yerde and in brede iij q'rs of yerde ; w^t sake ought to holde yf it be well and truly fylled vij bz.

It. If it be at eny tyme founde the said saks to be defectyue and not of suche contents as aboue said, the said officers may, and doth from tyme to tyme take the sake so fawte and kepe the same till a tyme apoynted for the bornyng of the same in the open market place.

It. There is a lawe that in eu'y warde w^{'in} the Cety ther shall be a grate sake w^t cont. viij bz, & y^e p'ce of Colys to be set by my lorde mayer and the aldermen both wynter & somer as the case shall requere, and now at this present tyme y^e p'ce ys at viij*d* the quart' sessed and to be mesered."

" An order taken at the king's palice of Westm. w^t the hiegh constable hedborowes and pety constables and other inhabito's dwellinge w^{'in} the hondred of Roupley, for the well s'uinge of the king's highnes w^t ther cariage as well in wynter

as somr. & to be of suche number as herafter is specified; and in case they fawte of the same nombre, they ar well contented to byde therfore suche ponyshment as shal be thought mete for there mysbehauyor don in this behalf.

Richard Swyster, on of the highe constables of Roupley honderte, hath these vilags vnder his rule:

	Somr.	Wynter.
Bexley	iiij.	ij.
North Cray	ij.	j.
Roupley	j.	j.
Sainte mary craye....	iiij.	iiij.
Orpinton	ij.	ij.
Chesylhyrste	iiij.	iiij.
Polliscraye	n.	n.
Fotyscraye	n.	n.

Will'm Cawsten, another of the highe constables of Roupley, hath these vilags vnder his rule:

Hethese	j.	j.
Farneborowe	j.	j.
Chellysfeld	ij.	ij.
Knokneold	j.	j.
Codihome	ij.	ij.
Downe	j.	j.
Kyston.....	n.	n.
West Whikham.....	j.	j.

xxvj. xxij."

JEWS IN ENGLAND.

THE following list of Jews is supposed to preserve the names of the first settlers here of that nation. It was found among the MSS. of Mendes Da Costa, and marked by him as received from Dr. Chauncey. The orthography shows it to have been made by some person of that persuasion, who had attained but a slight knowledge of the English language; and the hand-writing is certainly of about the middle of the 17th century. Though the re-admission of the Jews was a matter largely discussed in the time of the Protector, their return did not take place until after the Restoration. In 1663, a minister of the Portuguese synagogue is said to have searched the registers, and not to have discovered more than twelve Jews resident in London.

“ The List of the Jewes :

The widow Fendenadoes with her tow sonnes and
tow seruants, Leadenhall strett.

Sinor Antony Desousa, Boshapgat street.

Sinor M’uell Rodregoes, Chrechurch laine.

Sinor Samuell Deuega, in Beues marks, great,
Jeweller.

Sinor Antony Rodregus Robles, Ducks plate.

Sinor Josep	{ Deohnezeous }	Duck plate.
Sinor Mihell		
{ brothers }		

Sinor Duart Henrycus.

Sinor Perera	{ Brothers at a plumers in Chree-
Sinor Perear	

Sinor Daudid Gaby, at a Plumers in Chrechurch.

Three mor Jewes, Merchants, at the sam hous.

Sin. Deego Rodrego Aries, Fanchurch street.

Sin. Dormedio and Sin. Soloman his sonne, St. tellens.

Sin. Soloman Frankes, Fanchurch stret.

Sin. Manuel de Costa Berto. Ducks plate.

Sin. Docter Boyno, Phision to the Jewes, Ducks plate.

Sin. Steauen Rodregoes, near Algat.

Sin. Fransco Gomes, St. Mary Acts.

Sin. Moses Eatees, Chrechurch Laine, a Jewesh Rubay.

Sin. Benimam Lewme, Chrech Laine.

Sin. Aron Gabey, Ducks plate.

Sin. Domingoes Deserga, Ducks plate.

Sin. Daudid Mier, Leaden Hall street.

Sin. Moediga, Clark of the senagoge.

Most of them haue wifes and seruants."

Mr. Lysons, in his account of Stepney, mentions Emanuel Mendes Da Costa, as buried at the old burial ground belonging to the Jews in Mile-end Road in 1791, and has also given the dates of burial of several other branches of his family.--See *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 478.

COMPARATIVE MANNERS OF THE ENGLISH COURT
FORMERLY WITH THE PRESENT TIME.

(*Extracts from a MS. dated apud Ellam, Mense
jan. 22, Hen. VIII.*)

THIS MS. is entitled, 'Articles devised by his Royal Highness*, with advice of his Council, for the establishment of good order, and reformation of sundry errors and misuses in his household and chambers.'

CHAP. III. No manner of meat to be admitted but what shall be meet and seasonable, and of convenient price.

CHAP. XX. Officers of squillery to see all the vessels, as well silver as pewter, be kept and saved from stealing†. Ashen cups and leathern pots are added in another part.

CHAP. XXX. enjoins all his Highness's attendants not to steal any locks or keys, tables, forms, cupboards, or other furniture, out of gentlemen's or noblemen's houses, where he goes to visit‡.

* The title of Majesty was not given to our kings till a reign or two after.

† In the Earl of Northumberland's household-book, in the beginning of the year 1500, is a note, that pewter vessels were too costly to be common.

‡ By inventories of household furniture, in the same book, it appears, that what furniture was left in noblemen's houses consisted only of long tables, benches (no chairs mentioned), cupboards, and bedsteads. And, when noblemen removed from one house to another, tapestry and arras; bed and kitchen furniture; cups and cans; chapel furniture; and utensils for the bakery; joiner, smith, and

CHAP. XXXI. No officer to be admitted, in future, but such as be of good demeanor; and respect to be had, that they be personages of good fashion, gesture, countenance, and stature; so as the King's house, which is requisite to be the mirror of others, may be furnished with such as are elect, tried, and picked for the King's honour.

CHAP. XXXIV. No herald, minstrel, falconer, or other, shall bring to the court any boy or rascal. And by

CHAP. XXXVI. No one is to keep lads or rascals in the court to do their business for them.

CHAP. XXXVII. Master cooks shall employ such scullions as shall not go about naked, or be all night on the ground before the kitchen fire.

CHAP. XLI. The knight-marshalls to take good regard, that all such unthrifty and uncommon women, as follow the court, be banished.

CHAP. XLIII. No dogs to be kept in the court, but only a few spaniels for the ladies.

CHAP. XLIV. Dinner to be at ten, and supper at four *.

painter, with all their tools, were constantly removed; and those of the Earl of Northumberland, in seventeen carriages.

* It appears, by a household establishment of Lord Fairfax's, about 1650, added to the Earl of Northumberland's household-book, that eleven was then become the hour of dining. Toward the end of the 17th century, the hour was twelve, and so remained at the universities until these 60 years past; but from the beginning of the last century, in London, it has gradually grown later to the present time, when five is the polite hour at noblemens' houses.

CHAP. LV. The king appoints, among others, Mr. Norris to be gentleman waiter, (who, by CHAP. LXII. is also allowed to follow him to his bed-chamber;) William Brereton, groom of his bed-chamber, and young Western, page of it*.

CHAP. LVI. The proper officers are, between six and seven o'clock every morning, to make the fire in, and straw his highness' privy chamber.

CHAP. LXIII. Officers of his privy chambers shall be loving together; keeping secret every thing said or done; leaving hearkening or inquiring where the king is or goes, be it early or late, without grudging, grumbling, mumbling, or talking of the king's pastime, late or early going to bed, or any other matter.

CHAP. LXIV. The six gentlemen ushers shall have a vigilant and reverend respect and eye to his Grace, so that by his look or countenance, they may know what he lacketh, or what is his pleasure to be had or done.

In that chapter there is an order by which the king's barber is expressly enjoined to be cleanly, and by no means to frequent the company of idle persons and misguided women, for fear of danger to the king's most royal person.

Ditto. Accounts are to be taken of all fuel, wine, beer, ale, bread, and wax-lights, spent in his privy chambers; returning to the chaundry all re-

* These three gentlemen were cruelly executed, some years after, to justify the king's divorce.

mains of mortars, torches, quarries, prickets and sizes *, without embezzling any part thereof.

In page 42. Bouch of court, exclusive of meat and fish, is declared for every table.

Page 52. The messes are settled for his highness, and every day table, both on flesh and fish days.

Page 70. Eighteen minstrels are appointed at *4d. per diem* each, by their names mostly Italians.

Page 74. Rhenish and Malmsley wines are directed, and no other named through the book.

Page 75. Coal only allowed to the king's, queen's, and lady Mary's chambers.

Among incidental payments allowed herein, is a gift to each officer of the kitchen who marries. And also a gift to whoever brings his highness a present.

Page 80. Appears an account of his highness's horses, as follows : coursers, young horses, hunting geldings, hobbies, Barbary horses, stallions, geldings, mail boetils, pack, becage, robe, and stalking horses, in all 86 ; morls and morlets.

Page 85. The queen's maids of honour to have a chet loaf, a manchet, a gallon of ale, and a chine of beef for their breakfasts.

Page 92. Injunction to the brewer not to put any hops or brimstone into the ale.

Page 94. Among fowl for the tables are cro-

* Four different sizes of wax-lights ; the first is a square, the third a round of wax, with wicks in the middle.

cards, winders, runners, grows, and peions; but neither Turkey nor Guinea fowl.

Among the fishes is a porpoise; and, if it be too big for a horse load, a further allowance is made for it to the purveyor.

Page 105. Whenever his highness changes his residence, every wine cask is to be left filled up. By the above MS. only Rhenish and sweet wines are ordered to be bought; probably the French wines from Bordeaux and Gascony, were sent over of course. By the Earl's book, the wines then used appear to be a red, a pale red, white, and a vin de Greave; but all from Bordeaux or Gascony, except the sweet wines.

The manuscript ends with several proclamations:

One is, to take up and punish strong and mighty beggars, rascals, vagabonds, and masterless folk, who hang about the court.

Another, that no one presume to hunt or hawk within four miles of any of the king's houses.

Another, to order all such nobles and gentlemen as repaired to the parliament, immediately to depart into their several counties, on pain of his high displeasure; and to be further punished, as to him or his highness council shall be thought convenient.

ENGLISH LUXURY, HOSPITALITY, &c. IN FORMER
TIMES.

(From *Lord Kaimes' History of Man.*)

IN the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his history of Scotland, exclaiming against the growing luxury of his contemporaries, says, that some persons were so gluttonous as to have three meals a-day.

Luxury, undoubtedly, and love of society, tended to increase the number of meals beyond what nature requires. On the other hand, there is a cause that abridged the number for some time, which is the introduction of machines. Bodily strength is essential to a savage, being his only tools; and with it he performs wonders. Machines have rendered bodily strength of little importance; and, as men labour less than originally, they eat less in proportion. Listen to Hollinshed, the English historian, on that article:—‘Heretofore there hath been much more time spent in eating and drinking than commonly is in these days; for whereas of old we had breakfasts in the forenoon; beverages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto rear suppers when it was time to go to rest; now these odd repasts, thanked be God, are very well left, and each one contenteth himself with dinner and supper only.’

Then before cookery and luxury crept in, a moderate stomach, occasioned by the abridging bodily

labour, made eating less frequent than formerly. But the motion did not long continue retrograde ; good cookery, and the pleasure of eating in company, turned the tide ; and people now eat less at a time, but more frequently.

Feasts, in former times, were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmsbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II., says, ‘ That the English were universally addicted to drunkenness, continuing over their cups day and night, keeping open houses, and spending the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where eating and drinking were carried to excess, without any elegance.’ People who live in a corner, imagine that every thing is peculiar to themselves. What Malmsbury says of the English is common to all nations, in advancing from the selfishness of savages to a relish for society, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites.

Leland mentions a feast given by the Archbishop of York, at his installation, in the reign of Edward IV. The following is a specimen :—300 quarters of wheat, 300 tuns of ale, 100 tuns of wine, 1000 sheep, 104 oxen, 304 calves, 304 swine, 2000 geese, 1000 capons, 2000 pigs, 400 swans, 104 peacocks, 1500 hot venison pasties, 4000 cold, 5000 custards hot and cold. Such entertainments are a picture of manners.

At that early period there was not discovered in society any pleasure but that of crowding people

together in hunting and feasting. The delicate pleasures of conversation, in communicating opinions, sentiments, and desires, were to them utterly unknown. There appeared, however, even at that early period, a faint dawn of the fine arts. In such feasts as are mentioned above, a curious desert was sometimes exhibited, termed suttertie, viz. paste moulded into the shape of animals. On a saint's day, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were set upon the table in plenty.

The bill of fair of an entertainment, given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynd, to a company of 1500 persons, on his coming of age, is

A sample of old English hospitality, which appears to have nothing in them but crowding and cramming merely. The following passage is from Hollinshed: 'that the length and sumptuousness of feasts, formerly in use, are not totally left off in England, notwithstanding that it proveth very beneficial to the physicians, who most abound where most excess and misgovernment of our bodies do appear.' He adds, that claret, and other French wines, were despised, and strongwines only in request. The best, he says, were to be found in monasteries; for, 'that the merchant would have thought his soul would go straightway to the devil, if he should serve monks with other than the best.'

Our forefathers relished strong wine, for the same reason that their forefathers relished brandy.

In Scotland sumptuous entertainments were

common at marriages, baptisms, and burials. In the reign of Charles II. a statute was thought necessary to confine them within moderate bounds.

Of old, there was much eating, with little variety ; at present, there is a great variety, with more moderation. From a household book of the earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VIII. it appears that his family, during winter, fed mostly on salt meat and salt fish ; and with that view there was an appointment of 160 gallons of mustard. On flesh days, through the year, breakfast for my lord and lady was a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled. On meagre days, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs. During lent, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits. There was as little variety in other meals, except on festival days. That way of living was at the time high luxury : a lady's waiting-woman at present would never have done with grumbling at such a table. We learn from the same book, that the Earl had but two cooks for dressing victuals to more than two hundred domestics. In those days, hen, chicken, capon, pigeon, plover, partridge, were reckoned such

delicacies as to be prohibited, except at my lord's table.

But luxury is always creeping on, and delicacies become more familiar. Hollinshed observes, that white meats, milk, butter, and cheese, formerly the chief food of his countrymen, were in his time degraded to be the food of the lower sort; and that the wealthy fed upon flesh and fish. By a roll of the king of Scotland's household expence, anno 1378, we find, that the art of gelding cattle was known. The roll is in Latin, and the gelt hogs are termed porcelli eunuchi. Mention is also made of chickens, which were not common on English tables at that time. Olive oil is also mentioned.

In this progress, cooks, we may believe, came to make a figure. Hollinshed observes, that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employed as cooks musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers, as he terms them. He says, that even merchants, when they gave a feast, rejected butcher's meat, as unworthy of their tables, having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, representing flowers, trees, beasts, fish, fowl, and fruit.

Henry Wardlaw, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, observing the refinements in cookery introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had been eighteen years prisoner in England, exclaimed against the abuse in a Parliament held at Perth, 1433. He

obtained a law restraining superfluous diet, and prohibited the use of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen, on festival days only ; which baked meat, says the Bishop, was never before seen in Scotland. The peasants in Sicily regale themselves with ice during the summer : they say, that a scarcity of snow would be more grievous to them than a scarcity of corn or of wine ;—such progress has luxury made among the populace. People of fashion in London and in Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be surprised to be told that they are still deficient in that art. In order to advance the luxury of the table to the acme of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every dish, as there was in Egypt a physician for every disease.

CURIOUS HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, VIRTUES,
VICES, CUSTOMS, LANGUAGE, DRESS, DIET, AND
DIVERSIONS, OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRI-
TAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV.
A. D. 1399, TO THAT OF HENRY VII. A. D. 1485.

(Collected from Dr. Henry's Hist. of Great Britain.)

IF the heroic Henry V. were now to arise from the dead, and appear in the streets of London, mounted on his war-horse, and clothed in complete armour, what astonishment would he excite ! how much would he be surprised at every object around him. If he were carried to St. Paul's, he would neither

know the church nor understand the service : in a word, he would believe himself to be in a city, and among a people, he had never seen.

State of Society.

No very material alteration in the ranks of men in society took place at this period ; but there was a considerable change in their comparative importance and influence. The distinction between the nobility and gentry of England was now fully established, in consequence of the division of the Parliament into two houses ; and the former enjoyed several privileges, to which the latter had no claim. The parliament of Scotland still continued to meet in one house ; and their nobility hardly enjoyed any peculiar advantages, except their title and precedency, besides those they derived from the greatness of their fortunes, and number of their followers. The citizens and burgesses of both kingdoms were not so much despised as they had been formerly ; and even the common people were treated with greater lenity, as their haughty lords often stood in need of their assistance in the field of battle. At this period there was a great diminution of the numbers of the people of every rank (beggars excepted) by the depopulation of the country, occasioned by famine, pestilence, and war.

Scarcity of English Nobility, &c.

What great numbers of brave men fell in the civil and foreign wars of Henry IV. ! what multi-

tudes perished in the French wars of Henry V. and VI. ! The English nobility and gentry engaged in those wars with the greatest ardour, in the hopes of obtaining splendid settlements on the continent ; but so many of them lost their lives, that in the last years of Henry V. there was not a sufficient number of gentlemen left to carry on the business of government. On this account, in the 9th of Henry V. a statute was enacted, allowing the king to continue sheriffs and escheators in their offices four years. In a word, before the termination of these foreign wars, England and France were both so much exhausted, that, in some campaigns, they could hardly bring 10,000 men into the field on either side.

War of the Roses.

The French wars were succeeded by the bloody contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which was peculiarly fatal to persons of rank, and seemed to threaten them with extirpation. According to Philip de Comines, one of the most credible historians of that time, no fewer than 60 or 80 princes and nobles of the blood royal of England lost their lives in this quarrel, either in battle or on the scaffold. The same writer says, that Edward IV. told him one day in conversation, that in all the nine pitched battles he had gained, he had fought on foot, and that as soon as the enemy began to fly, he mounted his horse, and cried to his men,

to spare the common people, and kill their leaders. At the battle of Towton, three earls and ten lords of the Lancastrian party, besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen, were left dead on the field. At the first Parliament of Edward IV., long before the conclusion of that fatal contest, the nobility of England consisted of only one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons; all the nobility of the Lancastrian party having been either killed in battle or on scaffolds, or taken refuge in foreign countries.

The same causes of depopulation produced the same effects in Scotland; and in both countries they were visible in ruined villages, uncultivated fields, and decayed towns and cities. Upon the whole, we have good reason to believe, that there were not 3,000,000, probably not above 2,500,000, of all ages in Britain, at the end of this period. It is no objection to this, that we hear of numerous armies transported to the continent, and appearing in the field in Britain; because all men, from 16 to 60, the clergy not excepted, were every moment liable to be called into the field.

Many of the rich and great, both in England and Scotland, not to mention their crowned heads, experienced the most deplorable reverses of fortune, and sunk into indigence and obscurity; and some of the most ancient and noble families were ruined, and almost extirpated. The common people en-

joyed few of the comforts, and sometimes even wanted the necessaries, of life; and neither their persons nor their properties were secure.

Rise and Decline of Chivalry.

Chivalry flourished greatly in England in the 14th, but declined in the 15th century. Our kings and nobles were then so much engaged in real combats, that they could not pay equal attention to the representation of them in tilts and tournaments. It was far, however, from being extinct. Henry V. of England, and James I. of Scotland, are highly extolled for their dexterity in tilting; and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was famous for the victories he gained, both at home and abroad, in those knightly encounters. Many of the first productions of the press were books of chivalry, and adventures of knights-errant. We meet with a great number of royal protections, granted by our kings to foreign princes, nobles, and knights, to go into England to perform feats of arms; and licences to their own subjects to go into foreign countries for the like purpose. All coronations and royal marriages were attended with splendid tilts and tournaments.

Bravery of the British Nations at this period.

The bravery and martial ardour of both the British nations never appeared more conspicuous than in the present period, particularly in the reign of Henry V. But national, as well as personal courage, is subject to sudden and surprising changes,

which are sometimes produced by very trifling causes. There is not a more remarkable example of this in history, than that extraordinary revolution in the spirits of the French and English armies, at the siege of Orleans, in 1428. Before that period, the English fought like lions, and the French fled before them like sheep. But, as soon as the Maid of Orleans, a poor obscure servant girl, about 17, appeared on the scene of action, the fortune of war, and the spirits of the contending nations, were entirely changed. The French became bold and daring, the English dastardly and desponding. The terror of that heroine was not confined to the English army in France, but seized the great body of the people at home, and made many, who had entered into the service, desert, and hide themselves in holes and corners. This appears from the proclamations issued in England, commanding the sheriffs to apprehend those who had deserted, and concealed themselves for fear of the maid.

Ancient English Hospitality, &c.

The hospitality of our ancestors at this period has been considered as a certain proof of the nobleness and generosity of their spirits. The castles of the powerful barons were capacious palaces, daily crowded by their numerous retainers, who were always welcome to their plentiful tables. They had their privy counsellors, treasurers, marshals, constables, stewards, secretaries, chaplains, heralds,

poursuivants, pages, guards, trumpeters, minstrels, and, in a word, all the officers of a royal court. The etiquette of their families was an exact copy of that of the royal household; and some of them lived in a degree of splendour little inferior to that of the greatest kings. "Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick," says Stow, "was ever had in great favour of the commons of the land, because of exceeding household which he daily kept in all countries, wherever he sojourned a day; and when he came to London, he held such a house, that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat." The Earls of Douglas, in Scotland, before the fall of that great family, rivalled, or rather exceeded, their sovereigns, in pomp and profuse hospitality. But to this manner of living, it is highly probable, these great chieftains were prompted, by a desire of increasing the number and attachment of their retainers, on which, in those turbulent times, their dignity and even safety depended, as well as by the innate generosity of their tempers. These retainers did not constantly reside in the families of their lords; but they wore their liveries and badges, frequently feasted in their halls, swelled their retinues on great solemnities, attended them on their journeys, and followed them to the field of battle. Some powerful chieftains had so great a number of these retainers constantly at their command, that they set the laws at

defiance, were formidable to their sovereigns, and terrible to their fellow-subjects; and several laws were made against giving and receiving liveries; which, however, produced little effect at this period.

But hospitality was practised rather more than it is at present by persons in the middle and lower ranks of life. This was owing to the scarcity of inns, which obliged travellers and strangers to apply to private persons for lodging and entertainment; and those who relieved them hospitably, acquired a right to a similar reception. This was so much the case in Scotland, that, in the year 1424, James I. procured an act of Parliament, ordering inns to be set up in all borough towns and thoroughfares. But travellers had been so long accustomed to lodge in private houses, that these public inns were quite neglected; which, on the petition of the innkeepers, produced another act, prohibiting travellers to lodge in private houses where there were inns (*hospitalries*), under the penalty of 40s., to which both the host and guest were subject.

Religious Ceremonies.

The people of Britain were not chargeable with the neglect of the ceremonies of religion at this period. Many of them spent much of their time and money in performing those ceremonies. Not to mention the almost constant service in cathedrals and conventical churches, all the great barons had

chaplains in their castles, which much resembled cathedrals in the number of their clergy and choristers ; the richness of their furniture and images ; and the pomp and regularity with which Divine service was daily performed. The Earl of Northumberland, for instance, had constantly in his family a dean of his chapel, who was a doctor of divinity, a sub-dean, and nine other priests ; eleven singing men, and six singing boys ; all, twenty-eight ; who daily performed the service in his chapel, at Matins, Lady-mass, Even-song, and Complyne. The four first singing men acted as organists weekly, by turns. This was a very splendid and expensive establishment, consisting of greater numbers than are now to be found in several cathedrals.

But the religion of our ancestors in those times was so strongly tinctured with gross superstition, that it had little tendency to enlighten their minds, regulate their passions, or reform their lives. Their creed contained articles, which their very senses, if they durst have used them, might have convinced them could not be true. The ceremonies of their worship were mere mechanical operations, in which their minds had little or no concern ; and they were taught to place their hopes of Divine favour on such fallacious grounds as the pardons of a venal priest, the patronage of a saint pilgrimage, fastings, flagellations, and the like. But the most odious feature of the religion of those times, was

its horrid cruelty and intolerance, which prompted them to burn their fellow-christians to ashes, because they dared to think for themselves, and to worship God in a manner which they deemed more acceptable than the established forms.

Morals uninfluenced by Religion.

One evidence that the religion of this period had little influence on the morals of the people, is, that perjury prevailed to a degree that is hardly credible; and the obligations of the most solemn oaths were almost wholly disregarded by persons of all ranks. Besides many examples of this in the conduct of Edward IV. and Richard III., all the lords, spiritual and temporal, at the famous Parliament of Shrewsbury, A. D. 1398, called the *Great Parliament*, took a solemn oath on the cross at Canterbury, never to suffer any of the acts of Parliament to be changed; and yet these same lords, in less than two years after, repealed all these acts. Various ceremonies were invented, to give additional solemnity to oaths, and secure their observation. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1453, took a most tremendous oath, with all the lords and knights of his court, to march an army against the grand Turk; but not one of them performed their oaths. It is no wonder that the common people were so profligate in this respect, that not a few, we are told, lived by swearing for hire in the courts of judicature.

Propensity to Swearing.

The English were remarkable at this period, among the nations of Europe, for the absurd and impious practice of swearing in conversation. The Count of Luxembourg, accompanied by the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, visited the Maid of Orleans in her prison at Rouen, where she was chained to the floor. The Count, who had sold her to the English, pretended that he had come to treat with her about her ransom. Viewing him with just resentment and disdain, she cried, ‘ Begone ! you have neither the inclination nor the power to ransom me.’ Then, turning her eyes to the two earls, she said, ‘ I know that you English are determined to put me to death, and imagine, that after I am dead, you will conquer France. But, though there was a hundred thousand more *God-dam-me’s* in France than there is, they will never conquer that kingdom.’ So early had the English got this odious nickname, by their too frequent use of that horrid imprecation.

Otterbourne, a contemporary historian, who had frequently conversed with Henry VI., mentions it as a very extraordinary peculiarity in the character of that prince, that he did not swear in common conversation, but reprov’d his ministers and officers of state, when he heard them swearing.

Superstitious Credulity.

An excessive credulity still reigned in all the nations of Europe, and particularly in Britain.

There was not a man in England who had the least doubt of the reality of necromancy, and other diabolical arts. In Thomas Walsingham, one of the best historians of this period, the reader will meet with many ridiculous miracles, related as unquestionable facts. And the English were remarkable for one species of credulity peculiar to themselves, a firm belief in the predictions of certain pretended prophets, particularly Merlin.

The English frequently defeated the French in the field, but were generally defeated by them in the cabinet. Philip de Comines observes, that they were but blundering negociators, and by no means a match for the French.

Prevalent Spirit of both British Nations at this period.

A fierce, and even a cruel spirit, too much prevailed in both the British nations at this period. This was owing to the almost constant wars in which they were engaged, which hardened their hearts, inflamed their passions, and familiarised them to slaughter. These battles were uncommonly fierce and sanguinary. Prisoners of distinction were generally put to death in the field of battle, in cold blood. Assassinations were very frequent, perpetrated on persons of the greatest eminence, by kings, nobles, and near relations. Such was the ferocity of those times, that it infected the fair and gentle sex, and made many ladies follow the profession of arms, particularly at the siege of Sens,

in 1410. But what Thomas Walsingham relates of the women of Wales, in an excursion under Owen Glendour, is too horrid and indecent to be believed without extreme reluctance.

England much infested with Robbers.

When we consider the various circumstances of this period, as just related, it is not surprising that England was much infested with robbers. Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, in the reign of Henry VI., acknowledges that robbery was much more frequent in England than in France or Scotland; and, which is remarkable in a judge, he boasts of it as a proof of superior courage in the English: 'It hath ben often seen in England, that three or four thefes hath sett upon seven or eight true men, and robyd them al. But it hath ben seen in Fraunce, that seven or eight thefes have ben hardy to robbe three or four true men. Wherfor it is right seld, that Frenchmen be hangyed for robberye, for that they have no hertys to do so terrible an act. There be, therfor, more men hangyed in England, in a yere, for robberye and manslaughter, than there be hangyed in France, for such cause of crime, in seven yers. There is no man hangyed in Scotland in seven yers together for robberye; and yet they be often times hangyed for larceny and styling of goods in the absence of the owner therof: but there hertys serve them not to take a manny's goods, while he is present, and will defend it; which manner of

taking is called robbery. But the English men be of another corage: for if he be poer, and see another man havynge riches, which may be takynge from him by might, he wol not spare to do so.'—Whatever becomes of the reasoning of the chief justice, his authority is sufficient to establish the fact, that robbery was then more frequent in England than Scotland or France.

Manners of the London Youth.

Of the manners of the London youth in his time, honest Mr. Caxton thus writes:—'I see that the children ben borne within the sayd cyte encrease and prouffyte not like their faders and olders; but for mooste parte, after that they ben comeyn to theyr perfight yeres of discretion and rypnes of age, kno well that theyre faders haue lefte to them grete quantite of goodes, yet scarcely among ten two thrive. O blessed Lord! when I remember this, I am al abashed: I cannot judge the cause; but fayrer ne wysa, ne bet bespeken children in theyre youth ben no wher than ther ben in London; but at ther ful ryping, there is no carnel, ne good corn found en, but chaff for the most part.'—On the whole, not to mention the vices of the clergy at this period, if our ancestors were then free from certain follies, which are so prevalent in the present age, they were guilty of others, some of them of a very odious nature, which do not now prevail. Let us not, then, imagine, from an ill-founded veneration for antiquity, that the

former times were better than these. In several respects they were much worse, as well as more unhappy.

Difference of Dialect *, &c.

The difference of dialect was so great in England at this period, that, as we are told, the inhabitants of one county hardly understood those of another. ‘That comynge Englishee that is spoken in one shire varyeth from another; insomuche, that in my dayes happened, that certain merchaunts were in a ship in Tamyse, for to have sailed over the see into Zelande, and for lacke of wynde they taryed att Forland, and went to land for to refresh them; and one of them, named Sheffelde, a mercer, came into a hows, and axed for mete, and specially he axed for egges; the good wyfe answerde, that she could speke no French And the merchaunt was angry, for he also coude speak no Frenche; but wolde haue had egges, and she understode hym not. And thenne at last another sayd, that he would have ceyren; thenne the good wyfe said, that she understode him.’

Spelling in those times, as may be seen by those specimens, was so arbitrary and unsettled, that the same writer spelt the same word two or three dif-

* We here omit what Dr. Henry says of the language in general, as the reader may obtain ample information on that subject by consulting the ‘History of the English Language,’ by Dr. Johnson, prefixed to the genuine edition of his Dictionary.

ferent ways in the same page. In short, every writer contented himself with putting together any combination of letters that occurred to him at the time, which he imagined would suggest the word he intended to his readers, without ever reflecting what letters others used, or he himself had used, on former occasions, for that purpose.

Prevalence of Custom.

Customs, long established, are apt to be continued, after the circumstances from which they originated have long ceased. No custom could be more inconvenient and unreasonable, than to compose and promulgate the laws of a country in a language which few of the legislators, and hardly any of the other inhabitants, understood. The numerous statutes made in the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., and of Edward IV., except a very few in Latin, were composed and promulgated in French, though that language was then very little understood or used in England. Richard III. and his Parliament, in 1483, put an end to this absurd custom, by framing their acts in the English language.

Clothing of the English at this period.

That the English of this period, who had great abundance of excellent wool, were comfortably clothed, is certain, from the testimony of Sir John Fortescue, who, in proving that the English, who lived under a limited monarchy, were much happier than their rivals, the French, who lived under

a despotic government, gives the following as an example. 'The French weryn no wollyn, but if it be a pore cote, under their uttermost garment, made of grete canvas, and call it a frok. Their hosyn be of like canvas, and passin not their knee; wherefor they be gartered, and their thighs bare. Their wifs and children gone bare fote. But the English wear fine wooled cloth in all their apparel. They have also abundance of bed-covering in their houses, and of all other woollen stuffe.' It is probable, however, that Sir John speaks only of yeomen, substantial farmers, and artificers: for it appears, from an act made in 1414, for regulating the wages and clothing of servants employed in husbandry, that their dress and furniture could hardly answer the above description. By that law, a bailiff, or overseer, was to have an allowance of 5s. a-year for his clothing; a hind, or principal servant, 4s.; and an ordinary servant, 3s. 4d., each equivalent to 50s., 40s., and 33s. 4d., at present. But as all these persons were allowed meat, drink, and wages, they might be decently and comfortably clothed, by expending a part of their wages on their clothing: the dress of the labourers and common people appears to have been simple and well-contrived, consisting of shoes, hose made of cloth, breeches, a jacket and coat buttoned, and fastened about the body by a belt. They covered their heads with bonnets of cloth. As they could not afford to follow the caprices of fashion, the

dress of both sexes continued nearly the same for several ages.

Distinctions in Society, as relate to Dress.

It has been an ancient and universal custom to distinguish the different ranks of society by different robes and dresses. The robes worn by the kings, dukes, &c. in England, have been so often described, that a detail of them would be unnecessary. The robes of the earls, lords of parliament, and burgesses, in the parliaments of Scotland, were prescribed by the following law, made in the reign of James II. A. D. 1455: "It is statute and ordain it, that all Erles sall use mantellis of browne granit, oppin befor, furnit with quhyte lynning, and lynit before outwith an hand braid to the belt steid, with samen furring, with lytell huds of the samen claith, and to be usit upon their schuldaris. And the uther Lordis of parliament to have an mantell of reid, rychtswa oppenit before, and lynit with silk, or furrit with cristy gray greece, or punay, togidder with an hude of the samen cloth, furrit as said is. And all Commissaries of Burrowis, elk ane to have one pair of clothis of blew, furrit fute syde, oppin on the rycht schuldar, furrit as affeiris, and with hudes of the samen, as is said. And quhat Erl, Lord of Parliament, Commissaries of Burrowis, that enteris in parliament or general counsoll but (*without*) the said habit furit, shall furthwith pay thareafter ten pundis to the king unforgiven." And advocates, who spoke

for money in parliament, are commanded "to have habits of grene, of the fassoun of a tunekil, and the sleeves to be oppin as a talbert." What an antic and ridiculous appearance would an advocate of the present age make at the bar in this dress!

Fashions and Dress of the fine Gentlemen of this period.

Of the fashions in general, it may be observed, that folly is fickle when it is let alone, but obstinate when opposed. No fashion could be more absurd and troublesome than that of the long-pointed shoes, with which one could not walk till they were tied with chains. This fashion was condemned by the papal bulls, and the decrees of councils, and declaimed against with great vehemence by the clergy; and yet it prevailed, in some degree, almost three centuries. At length the parliament of England, by an act, A. D. 1463, prohibited the use of boots and shoes with pikes exceeding two inches in length, and all shoemakers from making shoes or boots with longer pikes, under severe penalties: but even this was not sufficient to put an end to this ridiculous fashion, till the dreadful sentence of excommunication was denounced against all offenders against this law.

At this period, the dress of the fine gentlemen of England was remarkably light. Their stockings and breeches were of one piece, as tight to their limbs as possible, like the tartan trouse of the gentlemen in the Highlands of Scotland. Their coats

or jackets were very short, reaching only an inch or two below the top of their breeches; and John Rows, of Warwick, complains bitterly, that by the shortness of their coats they exposed those parts to view which ought to be concealed. Parliament also, in the same year, passed an act, that no man should wear a jacket but what was of such a length, that when he stood upright it should hide his buttocks. But the power of fashion was greater than the power of parliament. Long hair was much admired by the gay, and as much condemned by the grave, particularly the clergy. John Rows reproaches the beaux of his time for suffering their long hair to cover their foreheads, on which they had been marked with the sign of the cross at their baptism. On their heads they wore bonnets of cloth, silk, or velvet, adorned with pearls and precious stones. In winter and bad weather they used mantles, which were sometimes as short as their jackets, and at other times so long, that their sleeves reached the ground. These are thus ridiculed by the poet Occleve:—

“ Now hath this land little need of broomes,
To sweep away the filth out of the streete,
For side sleeves of pennyless groomes
Will it uplicke, be it dry or weete.”

When the Prince of Wales, afterwards Henry V. waited upon his father, in order to make his peace, he was dressed in a mantle or gown of blue satin, full of small eyelet-holes, with a needle hanging

by a silk thread at every hole. This dress was truly ridiculous, but it was the fashion.

The Head-Dresses of the Ladies

Were exceedingly large, lofty, and broad. This fashion prevailed long both in France and England, and at length arrived at a most enormous pitch. When Isabel, the vain, voluptuous consort of Charles VI. kept her court at Vincennes in 1416, it was found necessary to make all the doors of the palace both higher and wider, to admit the head-dresses of the queen and her ladies. To support the breadth of these dresses, they had a kind of artificial horn on each side of the head, bending upwards, on which many folds of ribbon were suspended. From the top of the horn, on the right side, a streamer of silk, or some other light fabric, was hung, which was sometimes allowed to fly loose, and sometimes brought over the bosom, and wrapt about the left arm. In a word, the extravagance to which both sexes proceeded in dress was such, that the parliaments of England and Scotland attempted to restrain it by sumptuary laws.

The Diet of the People of England in general, if we may believe Sir John Fortescue, was neither coarse nor scanty. "They drink," says he, "no water, except when they abstain from other drinks, by way of penance, and from a principle of devotion. They eat plentifully of all kinds of fish and flesh, with which their country abounds." This

was intended probably for a description of the manner in which persons of good circumstances, in the richest parts of the kingdom, lived, in years of plenty. It must be observed also, that the chief design of this patriotic writer, was to convince his royal pupil, Prince Edward, that the subjects of a limited monarch were much happier than the slaves of an absolute sovereign. With this view, he painted both the plenty and prosperity of the English, and the poverty and misery of the French, in the strongest colours: "The commons in France," says he, "be so impoverished and destroyed, they drinke water, they eate apples, with bred right brown made of rye. They eate no flesche, but if it be selden, a littill larde, or of they entrails or heds of bests selayne for the nobles and merchants of the land." But though it were true, that the English in general lived better than the French, (as they suffered less by the ravages of war and the exaction of government,) yet our labourers and common people, especially in the north of England, did not possess that plenty and variety of provisions mentioned by Sir John Fortescue. Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. assures us, that none of the inhabitants of a populous village in Northumberland, in which he lodged, in 1437, had ever seen either wine or wheat bread; and that they expressed great surprise when they saw them on his table. In years of scarcity, which were too frequent, the common people were involved in

great distress, and not a few of them died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food.

Good Living of the Monks and secular Clergy.—

Cookery.—Glutton-Masses, &c.

The monks in rich monasteries lived more luxuriously than any other order of men in the kingdom. The office of chief cook was one of the great offices in these monasteries, and was conferred, with great impartiality, on that brother who had studied the art of cookery with most success. The historian of Croyland abbey speaks highly in praise of brother Lawrence Charteres, the cook of that monastery, who, prompted by the love of God, and zeal for religion, had given £40 (a sum equivalent to £400 now,) “for the recreation of the convent with the milk of almonds on fish-days.” He also gives us a long statute that was made for the equitable distribution of this almond milk, with the finest bread and best honey.

The secular clergy were no enemies to the pleasures of the table; and some of them contrived to convert gluttony and drunkenness into religious ceremonies, by the celebration of glutton-masses, as they very properly called them. These were celebrated five times a year, in honour of the Virgin Mary, in this manner:—Early in the morning, the people of the parish assembled in the church, loaded with meats and drinks of all kinds. Mass being ended, the feast began, in which the

clergy and laity engaged with equal ardour. The church was turned into a tavern, a scene of riot and intemperance. The priests and people of different parishes entered into formal contests, which should have the greatest glutton-masses; *i. e.* which should devour the greatest quantities of meat and drink, in honour of the Holy Virgin.

Introduction of Luxurious Living into Scotland, &c.

—*Prohibitions, &c.*

The English noblemen and gentlemen, who accompanied James I. and his queen into Scotland in 1424, introduced, it is said, a more luxurious mode of living into that kingdom than had been formerly known; and, in consequence of an harangue against this, by a bishop of St. Andrews, in 1433, an act passed, regulating the manner in which all orders of persons should live, and in particular, prohibiting the use of pies and other baked meats, (then first known in Scotland,) to all under the rank of barons.

Frequency of Meals, and time of taking them, &c.

It was the custom of great families to have four meals a day; *viz.* breakfasts, dinners, suppers, and liveries, which was a kind of collation in their bed-chambers, immediately before they went to rest. They breakfasted at seven, dined at ten in the forenoon, supped at four, had their liveries between eight and nine, and soon after went to bed. The breakfast of an earl and his countess, on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in the holy

fast of Lent, was a “loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchetts (*a small loaf of the finest bread, weight six ounces*), a quart of beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings or a dish of sproits.” This, for two persons at seven in the morning, was a tolerable allowance for a day of fasting. Their suppers on these days were equally plentiful. Their breakfast on flesh-days, “a loaf of bread in trenchers, two manchetts, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chyne of mutton, or a chyne of beef boiled. The liveries were two manchetts, a loaf of household bread, a gallon of beer, and a quart of wine.” The wine was warmed, and mixed with spiceries. No rule was fixed for dinners, as these were the principal meals at which they entertained their company. It is remarkable that shopkeepers, mechanics, and labourers, breakfasted at eight in the morning, dined at noon, and supped at six in the evening, which were later hours than those of the nobility.

Establishment, &c. of the Barons.

The barons not only kept numerous households, but very frequently entertained still greater numbers of their friends, retainers, and vassals. These entertainments were conducted with much formal pomp, but not with equal delicacy and cleanliness. The lord of the mansion sat in state, in his great chamber, at the head of his long clumsy oaken board; and his guests were seated on each side, on long

hard benches or forms, exactly according to their stations; and happy was the man whose rank entitled him to be placed above the great family silver-salt in the middle. The table was loaded with capacious pewter dishes, filled with salted beef, mutton and butcher's meat of all kinds, with venison, poultry, sea-fowl, wild fowl, game, fish, &c. dressed in different ways, according to the fashion of the times. The sideboards were plentifully furnished with ale, beer, and wines, which were handed to the company when called for, in pewter and wooden cups, by the mareschals, grooms, yeomans, and waiters of the chamber, ranged in particular order. But with all this pomp and plenty, there was little elegance. The guests were obliged to use their fingers instead of forks, which were not yet invented. They sat down to table at ten in the morning, and did not rise from it till one in the afternoon; by which three of the best hours in the day were consumed in gormandizing.

Diversions and Games, &c.

The diversions of people of rank, such as tilts and tournaments, hunting, &c. and those of the common people, boxing, wrestling, &c. continued much the same for about five centuries after the Norman conquest. But in the course of this period, card-playing was first introduced into Britain. Playing-cards were made, and probably first invented, about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the

fifteenth century, by Jaquemain Gregonneur, a painter in Paris, for the amusement, in his lucid intervals, of that unhappy prince, Charles VI. as is evident from the following article in his treasurer's account: "Paid 56 shillings of Paris, to J. Gregonneur, the painter, for three packs of cards, gilded with gold, and painted with diverse colours and diverse devices, to be carried to the king for his amusement." From this it appears, that playing-cards were very different in appearance and price from what they are at present. They were gilded, and the figures painted or illuminated, which required no small genius, skill, and labour. The price, as above, for three packs, was a considerable sum in those times; a circumstance which, perhaps, prevented playing-cards from being much known or used many years after they were invented. By degrees, however, cards became cheaper and more common; and we have the evidence of an act of parliament, that both card-playing and card-making were known and practised in England before the end of this period. On an application of the card-makers of London to parliament, A. D. 1463, an act was made against the importation of playing-cards. But if the progress of card-playing was slow at first, it has since become sufficiently rapid and extensive, to the ruin of many that have spent too much of their time in that infatuating amusement.

DRESS of the different ORDERS OF SOCIETY in England and Scotland, during the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth.

THE dress of the nobility during the reigns of Richard and Henry VII. was grotesque and fantastical, such as renders it difficult at first to distinguish the sex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the stays of a pregnant woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ankles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunic shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry VIII. when the trowsers or light breeches, that displayed the minute symmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished.

The fashions which the great have discarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunic, a Saxon garment, may still be discovered in the waggoner's frock; of the traouse, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trowsers that are worn by seamen.

These habits were again diversified by minute decorations and changes of fashion: from an opinion that corpulence contributes to dignity, the

doublet was puckered, stuffed, and distended round the body; the sleeves were swelled into large ruffs; and the breeches bolstered about the hips; but how are we to describe an artificial protuberance, gross and indecent in the age of Henry VIII. if we judge from his, and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dress of the sovereign, the knight, and mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment? The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and with the addition of a short cloak, to which a stiffened cap was peculiar, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waistcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the sleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dress of the age was justly censured as inconvenient and clumsy. ‘Men’s servants,’ to whom the fashions had descended with the clothes of their masters, ‘have suche pleytes,’ says Fitzherbert, ‘upon theyr brestes, and ruffes uppon theyr sleves, above theyr elbowes, that yf their mayster, or theym selfe, hadde never so greatte neede, they coude not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes, till they had caste of theyr coats, or cut of theyr sleves.’ The dress of the peasantry was similar, but more convenient, consisting generally of trunk hose, and a doublet of coarse and durable fustian.

The materials employed in dress were rich and

expensive; cloth of gold, furs, silks, and velvets, profusely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their procession to the Tower previous to their coronation, are described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. 'His grace wared in his uppermost apparell a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate banderike about his necke, of large bolasses. The quene was apparelled in white satyn embrodered, her haire hangying down to her backe, of a very great length, bewteful and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche orient stones.'

The attire of females was becoming and decent, similar in its fashion to their present dress, but less subject to change and caprice. The large and fantastic head-dresses of the former age were superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tuffs or *tussocks*; but the virgin's head was uncovered, and her hair braided and fastened with ribbons. Among gentlemen, long hair was fashionable through Europe, till the Emperor Charles, during a voyage, devoted his locks for his health or safety; and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads*. The same spirit induced him, probably, by sumptuary

laws, to regulate the dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for the dukes and marquesses; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth or distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt hats were of earlier origin, and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets. Pockets, a convenience known to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement in dress; but instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle.

The Scottish was apparently the same with the English dress, the bonnet excepted, peculiar both in its colour and form. The masks and trains, and superfluous finery of female apparel, had been uniformly prohibited; but fashion is superior to human laws, and we learn from the satirical invectives of poets, that the ladies still persisted in retaining their finery, and muzzling their faces.

MANNERS, VIRTUES, VICES, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS,
&c. DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VII. AND VIII.

AMONG nations whose government is monarchical, the supreme magistrate is exalted to a prince, and invoked by titles scarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his autho-

rity originates, and on whose breath his existence depends, are in history regarded only as subservient to him. Their annals are adjusted and marked by his reign, filled with his public transactions or secret policy; and as every achievement is ascribed to his auspices, it is his life rather than their history that is recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations. From the public transactions, or the dark and dishonest intrigues of princes, the transition to the private character of the people is grateful; yet there our attention is still irresistibly attached to the sovereign, whose example either extends to society, or whose court is an index to the manners, customs, and taste of the age.

The National Spirit, &c.—Manners, &c.

It is observable that the spirit of a nation is subject to frequent and sudden vicissitudes; that it passes from the extremes of religious phrenzy, or civil discord, to a state of inactive or cold indifference. The English, after a long interruption, obtained by the union of the rival roses the blessings of a permanent government and domestic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit these by the rash renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminished; the policy of the crown had suppressed their retainers; war, or the progress of society, had either destroyed or enfranchised their bondsmen; nor were armies ready to start, as formerly,

at the sound of their trumpets. Their depression, and the disusage of slavery, produced a salutary alteration on the ranks of society, removing the materials as well as the causes of future commotions ; but on the removal of these, an important change is perceptible in the spirit both of the government and people. The regal power, contracted hitherto by that of the nobles, subsisted after the decline of their influence, without opposition and without restraint. Government was sanguinary ; the people were passive and submissive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whose pleasure the laws were either superseded or perverted. The scaffold streamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of persecution consumed the religious : but the people suffered with patience, resigned the constitution to their monarch, and received as their religion whatever his caprice or his passions might dictate. Other nations, amid the remains of chivalry (the force of which was not yet exhausted) discovered in their government much of their present moderation and lenity ; and the contemporary reigns of Charles and of Francis exhibited despotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exercise, and unstained by sanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous state of society. The people were inured to bloodshed by the civil wars ; and while their own security remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their

superiors with supine indifference, or perhaps with a secret malignant pleasure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to suppress their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condescended repeatedly to court their affections: religious contests served to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided, applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they esteemed his character; but their's is marked by a tame servility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained in the present period to considerable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to ascertain the precise degree, impossible to distinguish the minute gradations. Foreigners who visited the country, have transmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a visible partiality, pronounces that their's resembled the Italian manners; but Erasmus informs us, that their manners participated of those nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither so refined as the French, nor so rude as the German.

The resort of foreigners was considerable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted, who, like their own mastiffs, are still noted for their antipathy to strangers. The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel, for improvement, through Europe, to study the languages, and acquire the refinement of different

courts*; and by this intercourse with foreigners at home and abroad, without supplanting, to correct the rudeness of the national manners. If the character, however, of a court be assumed from the sovereign, these manners in the court of Henry VII. must have been rude indeed. On arriving at a village where Catharine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told, that the princess had already retired to rest; but he announced his intention of visiting her bed-side, obliged her to rise and dress to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his son Arthur. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was distinguished by superior politeness; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and James IV., was adopted through emulation, and sat with visible constraint upon Charles, who disregarded, and upon Henry, who forgot, his youthful professions of respect for the fair. His passions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate, yet his character brave, frank, and generous, like his grandfather Edward, though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous, attracted the nobility, and encouraged a magnificence unknown till then in the English court. The no-

* Surry, Wyat, and others, had travelled; and it is said, that the first of the Bedford family distinguished at court was a Mr. Russel, who had acquired, by travelling, the language of the continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard, his kinsman, to attend on Philip of Austria, as his interpreter during his journey to court.

bility, who had formerly shunned the court, unless at seasons when their appearance was necessary *, began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their solitary dignity for social intercourse, exhausted their revenues in ostentatious magnificence, and while their existence literally depended on the smiles or frowns of a capricious master, acquired the frivolous, the pleasing refinement of courtly manners.

Defective state of Education, &c.

But polish of courts is imparted only to a portion of society, and the refinement of the people may be estimated perhaps by their means of improvement, their early education, and domestic manners. Their education, at the present period, was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and, before the Reformation, young men were educated in monasteries, women in nunneries, where the latter were instructed in writing, drawing, confectionery, needle-work, and, what was regarded then as a female accomplishment, in physic and surgery. The acquisitions of the former were confined to writing, and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin; but ignorance was still so common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to writing, the practice of notching a stick, to assist their memory. When removed from these seminaries to the houses of their parents,

* During Parliament, or once a-year, to perform their homage.

both sexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement.

Perhaps the best criterion of civilized society, is the free intercourse and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offspring; a situation in which an indulgent equality supersedes authority, and conciliates mutual esteem and affection. But domestic manners were severe and formal; a haughty reserve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are represented as standing, uncovered and silent, in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, were placed like statues at the cup-board; nor permitted to sit, or repose themselves, otherwise than by kneeling on a cushion, till their mother departed. Some austere manners were prevalent even in France, and peculiar rather to the nation; but the English, it is to be feared, discover a latent, unfeeling ferocity, in the relentless rigour of their domestic tribunals. Omissions were punished by stripes and blows; and chastisement was carried to such excess, that the daughters trembled at the sight of their mother, and the sons avoided and hated their father. These circumstances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and stately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourse, not habitual, nor retained to purify domestic life.

History of Chivalry at this Period.

Though its influence diminished daily, chivalry still subsisted as a splendid spectacle, supported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthusiastic gallantry, or their predeliction for arms and exploits of valour. Francis, and James IV., imbibed the genuine spirit of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often preposterously adjusted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taste in Scotland is ascribed to the espousals of James and Margaret; but though the people were fierce and untractable, the court was polished; and the king, whose deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, displayed the courtesy of an accomplished knight, and a delicacy far superior to the English Monarch.

Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its spirit neither perverted his judgment nor improved his heart; but its tournaments gratified his taste for magnificence, and his passion for arms. On these amusements, in which he engaged as a constant combatant, his father's treasures were profusely expended. His weapons sometimes were unusual, at least at tourneys, the battle-axe and two-handed sword: these, however, we suppose, were *rebated* or blunted, as the spears were with which the combatants were furnished. Yet, on one occasion, his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who

shivered a spear on his helmet, without perceiving that his vizor was open, and his face exposed to a mortal blow. At his interview with Francis *in the field of the cloth of gold*, his strength and dexterity were both conspicuous in a tournament perhaps the most splendid of the age. The two kings, who with fourteen companions had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the lists with their assistants sumptuously arrayed in the richest tissues, and, in the presence of their queens, awaited the appearance of those knights whom the fame of their tournament was supposed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen, richly habited. Francis began, and, after performing successive courses, and breaking several spears with applause, was succeeded by Henry, who shivered his spear at the first encounter; at the second demolished his antagonist's helmet. Their justings were continued for five days with equal splendour, and similar success; and the minute description of the attire of the knights, and the trappings of the horses, and of their quaint devices and feats in arms, assure us that these spectacles were highly estimated.

The mock encounters with princes appear at present unimportant, and trivial as those of the mimic monarchs on the stage; yet, if a servile or brutal exhibition delighted, by its massacre, the refined and rational notions of antiquity, how su-

perior, as a spectacle, is the image of war where kings and heroes are the only combatants !

These, inspected at a distance, were magnificent times ; yet diversified withal, when examined closely, with simplicity of manners, and plainness or penury in the chief comforts of modern life. Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion behind the king. The apartments at Hampton Court had been furnished, on a particular occasion, each with a large candlestick, a bason, goblet, and ewer, of silver ; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, consisted only of a joint-stool, a pair of andirons, and a small mirror. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were surrounded with hangings, sometimes with arras, and replenished with a cupboard, long tables, or, rather, loose boards placed upon tressels, forms, a chair, and a few joint-stools. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant ; but those of inferior condition slept on a mat, or a straw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glass windows were confined to churches and mansions, and carpets were only employed to garnish the cupboard. The floors, composed of clay, and covered either with sand or rushes, were foul and loathsome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the putrid excretions of dogs and men ; and Erasmus, from

whom this description is taken, attributes, justly, to the uncleanness of the English, the frequent and destructive visitations of the plague.

Character of the English at this Period.

The morals are less flexible than the manners of a people; and those virtues that in former ages distinguished the British, subsisted in the present with little alteration. The English were generous and brave as formerly, fond of war, and intrepid in danger. Their hospitality continued, not indeed in its former profusion, but corrected, rather than abated, by the changes produced in the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in a manner that renders repetition unnecessary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful subject; for the Reformation detected the profligate lives of the monks and clergy; and the eloquence of the pulpit, acquiring from the Reformers a new direction, and additional vigour, touched with freedom or asperity the vices of the people.

Licentiousness of the Monks, &c.

Ignorance, a venial imperfection in the laity, becomes criminal in those who profess to teach or to discover the way of salvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conspicuous, both in the monastics and the secular clergy, diminished after the dawn of reformation and letters; their depravity, however, did not diminish, but resisted; at least in England, the censures of their enemies, and the

sense of their own impendent danger. The visitations that preceded the suppression of the monasteries, discovered (if credit be due to the inspectors) crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monastic institution; and the counterfeit relics imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade and profession of religious orders. Intemperance is also to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid discipline; nor is their guilt inextinguishable, if, after indulging in evening collations, they assembled irregularly, and assembled to matins; but the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion: the lewdness of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lust in which the former indulged. The particulars would stain and dishonour our page; yet an historian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe that the reports of the visitors were influenced by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community of crimes repugnant to human nature: and their veracity seems to be vindicated by their extreme solicitude to preserve some convents, whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence

doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the Papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of Morton, the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Albans had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns, and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterward improved, or their discipline re-established.

Hospitality of the Monks, &c.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal hospitality and charity. Their tables were open to strangers, and, as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen.

At St. Albans, and probably at other abbeys, every traveller found an hospitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was satisfactory, or his business important, to protract his stay. The fragments of their luxury furnished an extensive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whose rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peasants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not so dissolute, similar hospitalities were supported in monasteries; and in the Abbey of Aberbrothwick, about one thousand bushels of malt seem to have been expended in ale. But these communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increase of industry; and their dissolution assure

us that the most venerable institutions, however sanctioned by time, or supported by prejudice, may be suppressed when useless, without detriment or danger to society. It is probable that forty thousand were discharged from different religious houses ; and it is certain, that a number, superior to that of the clergy at present, was absorbed with facility into the mass of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the transition to those of the laity, is natural ; and Henry, after dislodging vice from the cloisters, proceeded, in the same strain of reformation, to cleanse the stews. These were a range of buildings in Southwark, on the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by statute, and tolerated as a necessary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the last year of Henry VIII. The wretched prostitutes were then expelled, the stews were put down by sound of trumpet, and their suppression was, perhaps, attended with more solemnity than that of the convents. Their suppression failed, however, to extirpate lewdness ; and Latimer, whose sermons are replete with a barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its subsequent prevalence.

‘ You have put down the stews,’ says this rude declaimer, ‘ but what is the matter amended ? what availeth that ? ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. I advertise you, in God’s name, to look to it. I hear say there

is now more whoredom in London than ever there was in the Bank. 'There is more open whoredom, more stewed whoredom.' The vices obnoxious to clerical censures are not always pernicious to society, nor is their magnitude certain, when transmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer's proposal, in a court sermon, for restraining adultery by a capital punishment, attests its prevalence; nor is any inferior infliction too severe for a crime that embitters life, and corrodes the dearest connexions of nature; a crime, in its ultimate consequences, subversive either of social intercourse, or productive of an utter relaxation of morals.

State of Morals and Public Justice.

The vices and follies peculiar to the age are necessarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this severe reformer, the statesmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, destitute of charity, immersed in vice, and devoted to perdition. Whenever government is arbitrary, the administration of justice is perverted and partial; and judges, subservient to regal influence, are certainly not inaccessible to secret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the English have, in every age, been addicted, are peculiarly offensive to pious ears, and in some minds generate a persuasion, that a people, habituated to profane swearing, are disaffected to the Deity, whose name they dishonour, impervious to religion,

and insensible of virtue. It may be observed, however, with more propriety, that habitual swearing diminishes our sense of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was still the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breast of the sovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VIII., in the iniquitous prosecution of his own subjects; princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honesty; and that which is fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their transactions, by the appellation of policy: yet the reader must observe, with some surprise, the repeated examples contained in this history, of princes corroborating, by mutual oaths, and the rites of religion, those treaties which they had previously determined to frustrate or violate. Their treaties are at present neither more permanent nor more secure; but the intervention of oaths is wisely omitted, as a superfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

To these crimes may be added theft and robbery, which were still so prevalent, that twenty-two thousand crimes are said to have been executed by the rigid justice of Henry VIII. Robbery was seldom attended with murder, and was probably still regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success.

Murders and assassinations are frequent, however, in Scottish history, for the people were cruel, fierce, and ungovernable ; and to judge from the desperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more softened, nor their passions better controulled and regulated. But whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle, that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy ; and history furnishes repeated examples of nations passing from even a vicious effeminacy, to an enthusiasm that regenerates every virtue. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, by the reformation ; which, recalling its proselytes from the errors and abuses of the Romish superstition, taught them to renounce the dissipation and vices of the age, to assume the badge of superior sanctity, and more rigid virtue, to suffer in adversity with patience, and to encounter persecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the constant circumspection requisite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy severity ; and foreigners, evermore observant than natives, discovered, in the present period, symptoms of that puritanical spirit, which at the distance of a century was destined to give liberty to England, and law to kings.

Superstitious credulity, &c.

The Reformation might reflect discredit on recent miracles ; but the period is still distinguished by excessive credulity. The astrologers, in 1523,

from the approach of eclipses and planetary conjunctions, predicted incessant rains and destructive inundations; the people were alarmed, many retired to the high grounds for safety; the Abbot of Bartholomew, in Smithfield, built a house, which he stored with provisions, on Harrow of the Hill, and those who reposed in the promise of Noah, were still apprehensive of a partial inundation, and collected meal sufficient for subsistence till the waters subsided. But the year elapsed with little rain, and the astrologers redeemed their credit by confessing a mistake in their calculations of one hundred years. The reformers probably were less credulous; but, believing that the Pope was anti-christ, they expected, as his power was partly broken, the speedy arrival of Christ in judgment; and in every unusual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, those signs supposed to announce the cessation of time, and destruction of the world. An Egyptian experiment, repeated by James IV. exhibits the superstitious credulity of the Scots: either to discover the primitive language of the human race, or to ascertain the first formation of speech, he inclosed two children, with a dumb attendant, in Inchkeith, an uninhabited island of the Forth; and it was believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of paradise.

Singular Lusus Naturæ.

I would mention, as an instance of credulity, the belief of a monstrous production of the human species, but the concurrence of grave historians, attests and render the fact indisputable. This monster was born in Scotland, and its appearance suggested the idea of twins fortuitously conjoined in the womb, united at the navel into a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but disparted above into two bodies; distinct and perfect in all their parts, each endued with separate members, and animated each by a separate intelligence. Their sensations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced on the particular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent; at times discordant, and again adjusted by mutual concession. They received, by the direction of James IV., such liberal education as the times afforded, attained in music to a considerable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miserable; at the age of twenty-eight the one expired, and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother.

The feudal system was productive, among other preposterous customs, of early marriages, formed, not only without disparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to disparity of age, or repugnance

of sentiment. Vassals, during their wardship, were at the absolute disposal of their lords, who literally sold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to frustrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offspring. The custom extended beyond the necessity from whom it originated, and the death of Prince Arthur is to be ascribed to the premature consummation, at the age of fifteen, of his marriage with Catharine. When on her divorce from Henry, a proof of that delicate circumstance was requisite, the opinion of two witnesses, the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury, was founded on their own marriage at the age of Prince Arthur, and it is remarkable that Herbert, the historian of these transactions, was himself married at the same age, to a woman of twenty. Chivalry was the season of romantic love, yet as mankind are actuated chiefly by interest, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age, been a solid bargain.

Modes and immunities of Salutation.

The mode which is still peculiar to Britain, of saluting ladies, appears to have excited the surprise of foreigners; and Erasmus, who approved of it as a laudable custom, avers with pleasantry, that whether you visit, depart, or return, whether you assemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot stir in England without an interchange of luscious kisses. An interchange not so disinterested was supported at court, where, on the new

year, the king accepted from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with smiles, or occasional presents of gilt-plate. On solemn festivals the king and his nobles bestowed each his largess on the guards, or attendants, and a herald proclaimed the different donations with much solemnity, but James I. delicately suppressed at his marriage, the mention of his own, when his queen's was published. Marriages, christenings, and established festivals, furnished frequent occasions for convivial intercourse; but the gentlemen are described as assembling at other times in fields and forests, with hawks and hounds, and bugles suspended in silkin baldricks. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early statute of Henry the Eighth still prohibits their hunting in vizors, or during the darkness and concealment of night.

Manners, &c. of the Scots at this period.

The domestic manners of the Scots have seldom attracted historical notice; and their advances in refinement are to be collected or conjectured from their peculiar customs, their progress in the arts, and their improvement in their various comforts of life. Their morals, contrasted with those of their ancestors, are arraigned as degenerate, by the historian Boethius, who accuses their intemperance, censures their luxury, and laments their departure from the frugal moderation and rugged virtues of

the ancient Scots. His description, however, of these primitive obdurate virtues, is far from attractive; and what he denominates vicious intemperance and excessive luxury, may be fairly interpreted an increasing refinement, and superior elegance of social life. The nobles, who resorted seldom to the cities, preserved in their castles their former rude but hospitable magnificence, which increased their retainers, and strengthened their power, secured their safety, or enabled them to prosecute their deadly feuds. The people were divided into factions by those lords to whom they attached themselves, whose interest they espoused, and whose quarrels they adopted; and the clans peculiar at present to the Highlands, were probably once universal in Scotland. In the Highlands, and on the borders, clans were perpetuated by a constant warfare, that inured the people to the fierceness and rapine of a predatory life. As thieves and plunderers, their characters were proverbial; yet their depredations, committed generally on hostile tribes, assume an appearance of military virtue; and their mutual fidelity, their observance of promises, and in the Highlands, their inviolable attachment to their chieftains, are circumstances sufficient almost to redeem their character. The Clattan clan, during the minority of James V. had made a destructive incursion into Murray, but after their return, were assailed and oppressed by superior forces; and two hundred of the tribe, rather

than betray their chieftain, or disclose his retreat, preferred and suffered an ignominious death.

The mutability of language to the learned, whose fame depends on its duration, an incessant topic of serious regret, seems to be counteracted by the art of printing, which, in proportion as it disseminates a taste for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial speech, and operates, if not entirely to repress innovation, at least to preserve the stability, and perpetuate the radical structure of language. Such stability the English language has acquired from printing, and at the distance of three centuries, still exhibits the same phraseology and syntactical form, varied only by those alterations essential to the progressive refinement of speech. The language of this period, if necessary to discriminate its peculiar style, was unpolished and oral; its character is rude simplicity, neither aspiring to elegance nor solicitous of ease, but written as it was spoken, without regard to selection or arrangement: reduced to modern orthography, it is only distinguishable from the common colloquial discourse of the present period by a certain rust of antiquity, by phrases that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. These, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude from the compositions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the present, unless in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was harsh, and such as would now be denominated

provincial, or vulgar. Whatever has been since superadded, either by a skilful arrangement, or the incorporation of foreign or classical words and idioms, is more the province of critical disquisition than historical research; yet it merits observation, that the first attempts at elegance are ascribable, in poetry to Surry, in prose, perhaps, to Sir Thomas More, whose English style, as it was modelled on his Latin, is constructed with art, and replete with inversions approaching to that which, in contradiction to the vulgar, may be justly denominated a learned diction.

This history has already furnished sufficient specimens both of the Scottish and English languages, which descended from the same Gothic original, and nearly similar in former periods, divaricated considerably during the present. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the English, for the Scottish were more stationary, nor is there in the language a material difference between the compositions of James I. and those of Bellenden, Dunbar, and Douglas, each of whom, by the liberal adaption of Latin words, enriched and polished his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the English the prevalent language, the Scottish might have risen to the merit of a civil dialect, different rather in pronunciation than structure; not so solemn, but more energetic, nor less susceptible of literary culture.

Diet and Manner of Living of the English Peasantry, &c.

The diet of the peasantry is subject, in different periods, to few alterations; because it consists of the common produce of the soil, prepared in the simplest manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, sometimes oats mixed with pulse, a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was usually confined to the tables of the wealthy. These tables were more luxurious and expensive than formerly; distinguished by the variety of delicate viands as well as by the quantity of substantial fare; and Polydore expatiates with visible complacency on the various pleasures of those tables at which he had feasted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the sweetness of the beef, especially when slightly salted; on the tenderness of the young geese and the Kentish hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheasants, and quails, and the fatness of the larks, thrushes, and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and presented almost at every table. But his taste was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fish, which to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious: he discriminates the gurnard, whiting, mullet, turbot, brime, and sturgeon; deprecates the mackerel as dry, the shard as insipid, extols the rich and delicious oysters, and approves of the recent translation of the pike from fens and

lakes into gentlemen's ponds; to these the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the present period, as store for ponds; and from these particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feasts. Vegetables, however, were sparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beeves at Michaelmas, and subsisted till Whitsuntide on salted meat.

Culinary distinctions, Cookery, &c.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated or distinguished, otherwise than by a profusion of hot spices, with which every dish was indiscriminately seasoned. Dinner and supper were served in the hall, where the first table was placed in a sort of recess or elevation at the upper end, and reserved for the landlord and his principal guests, while visitors less respectable, were seated with the officers of the household at long and narrow tables that occupied the sides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the guests was again discriminated by their arrangement, by their situation above or below the saltcellar, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the usher was carefully instructed to displace such as might seat themselves unmannerly above their betters. The chief servants attended above the saltcellar, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependants, whom the guests despised and the servants neglected. The servants were marshalled and the

dishes served, by orders issued aloud from the usher ; and at table, none presumed to taste of the dishes till they were drawn successively upward to the principal personage, from whom they descended again to the rest of the company. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility themselves. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and in serving his dinner, the monks at every fifth step performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of the table, to the sides of which guests of distinguished rank were admitted ; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with equal respect by the novices. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors, the company were summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music. The second course contained upwards of a hundred devices or subtilties ; castles, churches, animals, warriors, justing on foot and on horseback ; others dancing with ladies ; ' all as well counterfeited,' says the historian, ' as the painter should have painted on a cloth or wall.' Such entertainments were not of a short duration ; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening, but dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night. Breakfast seems to have been a solitary meal, not universal, but like the collation after

supper, confined to a few in their private apartments. But it was not probably an unsubstantial meal, and the collation, the slightest repast of the age, consisted often of brawn, jellies, sweetmeats, ale, brandy, and spiced wines.

Diet, &c. of the Scots, &c.

The diet of the Scots was worse and more penurious than that of the English. The peasants subsisted chiefly on oatmeal and cabbages, for animal food was sparingly used even at the tables of substantial gentlemen. An English traveller, who experienced the hospitality of a Scottish knight, describes the table as furnished with large platters of porridge, in each of which was a small piece of sodden beef; and remarks, that the servants entered in their blue caps without uncovering, and instead of attending, seated themselves with their master at table. His mess was better, however, than a boiled pullet, with prunes in the broth; but his guest observed, 'no art of cookery, or furniture of household stuff, but rather a rude neglect of both.' Forks are a recent invention, and in England the table was only supplied with knives; but in Scotland, every gentleman produced from his girdle a knife, and cut the meat into morsels for himself and the women, a practice that first intermixed the ladies and gentlemen alternately at table. The use of the fingers in eating, required a scrupulous attention to cleanliness, and ablution was customary, at least at court, both before and after meals.

But the court and the nobility emulated the French in their manners, and adopted probably their refinements in diet. The Scottish reader will observe, that the knight's dinner was composed of two coarse dishes peculiar to Scotland; but others of an exquisite delicacy were probably derived from the French, and retained, with little alteration, by a nation otherwise ignorant of the culinary arts. The Scots, though assimilating fast with the English, still resemble the French in their tables.

Beverage, &c.—Wines, &c.

Ale and Gascony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cider, and perry, were not uncommon. Hops were still scarce, and seldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in small quantities, to be drank while new. At the king's table all was prohibited, as unfit for use, till five days old. The wines, whatever was their quality, were certainly superior to our present harsh and astringent port; yet Erasmus complains repeatedly, that good wine was unknown in England. His frail and sickly constitution required wine of a peculiar age and quality; and it is probable, that his poverty deterred him from procuring the best. The wine was still circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately. The English were sober; the Scotch intemperate; they are accused at least, by their own historians, of excessive drinking, an imputation long attached to their national character.

Field Sports, Diversions, &c.

Martial diversions have been already described, and the sports of the field are in different ages pursued with an uniformity almost permanent. In England, hunting has been ever a favourite diversion, and hawking has only been superseded by the fusil; but it was still practised with unabating ardour, and cultivated scientifically as a liberal art. Treatises were composed on the diet and discipline proper for the falcon; the genus was discriminated like social life, and a species appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a knave or a peasant; nor were gentlemen more distinguished by the blazoning of heraldry, than by particular hawks they were entitled to carry. The long bow was also employed in fowling, a sport in which much dexterity was requisite: but archery was a female amusement; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow, in Alnwick park. The preservation of the feathered game was enforced in the present age by a statute, the first that was enacted of those laws which have since accumulated into a code of oppression. The Scottish monarchs hunted in the Highlands, sometimes in a style of eastern magnificence. For the reception of James the 5th, the queen his mother, and the Pope's ambassador, the earl of Athol constructed a palace or bower of green timber, interwoven with boughs, moted round, and provided with turrets,

portcullis, and drawbridge, and furnished within with whatever was suitable for a royal abode. The hunting continued for three days, during which, independent of roes, wolves, and foxes, six hundred deer were captured, an incredible number, unless we suppose that a large district was surrounded, and the game driven into a narrow circle to be slain, without fatigue, by the king and his retinue. On their departure, the Earl set fire to the palace, an honour that excited the ambassador's surprise; but the king informed him, that it was customary with Highlanders to burn those habitations they deserted. The earl's hospitality was estimated at the daily expence of a thousand pounds sterling. During the present period, several games were invented or practised to disuse archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cayles, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by legislature as unlawful games. Tennis, however, was a royal pastime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much; and a match is recorded between him and the emperor, the Prince of Orange, and the Marquis of Brandenburg: but the favourite amusements of court, next to tournaments, were masques and pageants; the one an Italian diversion subservient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of gross adulation. The masques were destitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb show, and their merit consisted in the grotesque disguises of a part of the company who entered, as strangers, to dance with the ladies.

The masque and pageant were often united, for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ship, a castle in which the masquers were introduced into the hall, or from which, in solemn processions, allegorical personages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Drama and Dramatic Entertainments.

Curiosity is naturally excited concerning the present state, which is properly the origin of the English drama; that state which preceded its youthful vigour, when Shakspeare delineated human nature, even in the mildness of a fairy creation. But historical informations are not satisfactory, and we can only conclude, that the revival of letters discredited mysteries, and propagated a purer taste for dramatic composition. We discover, that a comedy from Penutus was performed at court, where, at Christmas, plays, or rather short interludes, were often represented. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into schools and colleges; plays were composed by professors, and performed by their pupils: nor did grave lawyers, at their annual festivals, disclaim the laurels acquired on the stage. These, however, were temporary stages; but the church is still to be regarded as an established theatre, licensed, not indeed by divine permission, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious spectacles. Dispossessed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's supremacy, the Popish clergy seceded to secular stages, and endeavoured to discredit the gossellers

by farces more efficacious and popular than their former sermons. The reformers retaliated by converting the mysteries of the church into a satirical representation of the corruptions of popery, and repeated ordinances were afterwards necessary, to suppress these ludicrous polemics of the church and stage. In churches the performers were chiefly the choristers; at court they were probably minstrels, of whom a company followed Queen Margaret from England, and exhibited several plays or mysteries in the Scottish court. The minstrels, who disappeared under Henry VIII. were probably converted by the prevalence of theatrical amusements, into itinerant players, in the succeeding reign, an established and apparently a numerous profession. A more ignoble, perhaps a more popular spectacle, consisted of Bears; 'of which,' says Erasmus, many herds are maintained in Britain for the purpose of dancing. Bear-baiting was a favourite diversion, exhibited as a suitable amusement for a princess,

Winter Domestic Amusements, &c.

The winter solstice, when the Sun regains its northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous ancestors; and Christianity, unable to suppress the festival, transferred it under the same name to a different day. At Christmas, or the feast of Yule, peculiar dishes have been always employed, and every domestic diversion adopted that tends to cheer or to dissipate the gloom of winter. To re-

gulate, or rather to promote such pastimes, a Lord or abbot of misrule was also created ; but of these amusements, perhaps the most rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domestic amusements, in a period subsequent to the present, are thus enumerated : 'The ordinary recreations which we have in winter, are cards, tables, and dice, shovel board, chesse play, the philosopher's game, small trunks, balliards, musicke, masks, singing, dancing, all games, catches, purposes, questions, merry tales of errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fayries, goblins, friars, witches, and the rest. Among these amusements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licensed by the king. Gaming became more inordinate and ruinous ; but let not cards be therefore depreciated, a happy invention, which, adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious distinctions of nature, bestows on the fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wisdom to the level of folly.

ACCOUNT OF THE SEVERAL PUBLIC RECORDS,
&c., DISCOVERED IN THE RECORD OFFICE AT THE
TOWER, SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1804,
BY THE RECORD COMMISSION.

LETTERS missive from kings to lord-chancellors,
and from the different sovereigns of Europe to the

Kings of England, from the beginning of the reign of Henry III., to the end of the reign of Richard III., were lately found in the Tower of London, some of them under the arch at the N.W. corner of the White Tower, and some in the North Gallery of the Chapel. Above 500 of these, during the reigns of King Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., which are written on paper, have been cleaned, arranged, and made smooth, and about half of them inlaid in strong drawing paper, and bound.

A great number of letters were also found from the heads of different religious houses, and other ecclesiastics to the king; and about a hundred have been found addressed by the nobility and ecclesiastics, particularly Pandulf, the legate, to Hubert de Burgh, the chief justice in the beginning of the reign of Henry III., the greater part of which have been smoothed and arranged. The letters of the Kings of England, and those addressed to them by their subjects, already arranged, amount to eight large folio volumes.

A great number of those from the Kings of France, the kings of Spain, and the Kings of the Romans, and from the Dukes of Norway, the Earls of Holland, and Earls of Flanders, have been cleaned, smoothed, and assorted in portfolios.

There are also several instruments, containing instructions to ambassadors, memorandums of treatises, &c.

A great mass of state papers, also discovered in a closet in the Wakefield Tower, tied up in bundles, have been placed in a large box, in the closet of that tower, for the purpose of being examined and arranged at the first convenient opportunity: from a cursory examination of them, it appears, that several of these instruments, printed in Rymer, without any intimation of the repository where the originals were preserved, are in this collection*.

ABSTRACT OF LETTERS MISSIVE.

TEMP. HENRY III †.

From William de Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to Hubert de Burgh, Chief Justice.—[This and the two following letters have no date; it should be observed, that the year of our Lord, or of the king's reign, is very rarely mentioned in the Letters Missive.]

His kinsman, John Marshal, having signified to him that he had sent letters of the king to Fawkes [Falcasius, de Brealte, for him to have peaceable possession of his wood at Norton, &c. within the bailiwick of the said Falcasius. To which Falcasius answered, That if he sent him 30 pair of letters of the king, he should not enjoy his wood, &c. peaceably; and used outrageous language, and imprisoned his bailiff, &c. He entreats the Chief Justice to restrain his excesses.

* Many of them are greatly injured by the improper use of the infusion of galls.

† All the letters in this reign are written in Latin.

From William Longespée, Earl of Sarum, to the same.

To the same effect as the preceding, and nearly in the same terms.

From Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, to the King.

The prince acknowledges the receipt of the king's command, that he should not receive, or afford any assistance to, Falcasius de Breaute, who had seized Henry de Braybroc, one of the king's justices, and imprisoned him in Bedford Castle; to which he answers, that Falcasius came to him grievously complaining of the wrongs which had been done him by the king's council on this occasion, he being ignorant of the seizure of the said Henry, and having offered that his brother William should be answerable for it; and that he departed the same day that he came.. Nevertheless, the prince conceives that he should have been justified if he had received him; for he does not enjoy less liberty in that behalf than the king of Scotland, who receives outlaws from England with impunity: that he never had heard of any injury Falcasius had done towards the king or his father, but on the contrary, that he had served both faithfully; and concludes with heavy complaints of the injuries done to himself, which he has no expectation that the king's council will redress; and prays that on these, and other matters, God will give his majesty and himself wholesome counsel, of which they both stand in great need.

“ Pandulf Norwici electus dñi pp̄ Camer̄ Applici Sedis leḡ H. de Burḡ Justiciario Anglie.” Dated at Cirencester. 3 Kal. Feb.

Pandulf the Legate had bent his course towards the parts of Wales, not for his own advantage, but because he saw that it was expedient for the honour of the king and his faithful subjects ; and though he had not finished that which he had undertaken, he will, at the instance of the chief justice, on account of the pressing occasion which had lately occurred, direct his journey towards London.

Pandulf Norwici electus dñi pp̄ Camer̄ Applici Sedis leḡ H. de Burgo Justiciario Anglie. Dated at Wells. 17 Kal. Feb.

The Pope having committed to the Legate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Salisbury, the appointment to the church of Ely, and they having agreed in choosing the Abbot de Fontibus ; the Legate presents him to the king, requesting that he would receive him favourably, and accept his fealty.

TEMP. EDWARD I.

*The King to Llewellyn Fitz-Griffin, Prince of Wales. Dated Westminster, 25th Oct. Anno r. 7.**

The king having heard all that could be urged by the Prince of Wales's attorneys in the plea betwixt him and Griffin Fitz-Wenunwen, of the land of Arwystly, &c., and also by those of the said Griffin

* This and the two following letters are in Latin.

in his present parliament, would be justified in proceeding against the prince as undefended, on account of the insufficiency of what had been urged by his attorneys; nevertheless, he postpones the determination of the cause till the next parliament, which should be at Westminster from the day of Easter in three weeks, when the parties are ordered to attend; and Llewellyn is directed to send certain persons, by whom the king's court may be certified whether they ought to proceed in the premises according to the law of Howel Da, or the law according to which the said Griffin demands judgment.

Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and Lord of Snowden, to the King. Dated Nevyn, Purification of the Bl. Virgin Mary.

Some honey and horses of the prince being detained at Chester, by reason of a certain wreck, before the war in his country; when he expected to have had redress by the king's command, his servants, sent to Chester to purchase necessities, were attacked by the justice, and his honey, of the value of 4*l.* taken from them. He complains of being ill used respecting the suit betwixt him and Griffin Fitz-Wenunwen, and prays for redress.

The King to William, Archbishop of York. Dated Rothelan, 25th Nov. [Anno r. 11°.]

The king having determined to proceed against Prince Llewellyn and the Welsh, commands the archbishop, with all his suffragans, abbots, priors,

and all other heads of religious houses, to meet him, or certain persons deputed by him, at York, on the octave of St. Hilary.

TEMP. EDWARD III.*

From the Prior and Convent of Pentneye, (in Norfolk,) to the King. Dated in their Chapter, at Pentneye, pridie Idus Marcij, A. D. 1334.

They are extremely sorry that it is not in their power to satisfy the subsidy demanded by the king's letters, on account of the marriage of his sister Eleanor, but send him 40s., intreating that his majesty would not be offended at their offering so small a sum.

From the Abbot of Vale Royal (Cheshire) to the King. Dated at their said House, 7. Anno Regis.

Acknowledging the receipt of the king's letter, bearing date at Poinfret, 12th day of February, in the 7th year of his reign, in which he tells them that he deems their excuses insufficient for not affording him the subsidy he had demanded on account of the expences of marrying his sister Eleanor to the Earl of Gerl, and again demands the subsidy. They state that the monastery was refounded by his grandfather, on account of a certain vow he had made on his escape from peril of the sea; and that it was but partially endowed, and the fabric of their church only begun at the time of his death, in consequence of which they are left in a wretched

* These three letters are written in Latin; many on the same subject, and writtten at the same time, are in French.

condition; nevertheless, they offer to his majesty 100s., to be paid when, by his gift, their establishment shall be completed.

From the Prior and Convent of Angleseye (Cambridgeshire.) Dated at Angleseye, 17th March.

Their house is so poor, and so ill endowed, that by means of tithes, tallages, and murrain of cattle, they are unable to contribute to his majesty's wants, on account of the marriage of his sister, as they wished to have done; nevertheless, out of their poor estate, they will, at the ensuing Michaelmas, pay the sum of forty-pence to whomsoever he shall appoint, in aid of his charges, which small sum they hope he will receive without indignation.

ABSTRACT OF ROYAL LETTERS MISSIVE.

TEMP. RICHARD II*.

A nre tres cher & feal Michel de la Pool nre Chancellor. Dated Hengham Castle. "Cest nuit bien tard." [No date.]

The Scots having invaded the kingdom, the chancellor is ordered in all haste to cause to be assembled all the lords of the realm, with their retinue, prepared for war, in fourteen days, either at London or Northampton, as he should judge most expedient. And also to order the sheriffs to summon all the king's liege subjects, between the age of sixteen and sixty, to be at the same place, to

* All the letters of this king are in French.

march with him against his enemies; the king intending to be at Havering on the Saturday, and at London on the Sunday following.

*A tres rev'rend pere en dieu n're tres chier Cousin
l'Archevesque de Canterbiry, n're Chancellor. Dated
the Abbey of St. Albans, 2d March.*

The king having ordered Richard de Lone, mason, to make cannon balls (piers pour canons) in his lordship of Harescomb, in Gloucestershire; directs that the chancellor should make a commission to him under the great seal, to take such workmen, artificers, and carriages, as he might stand in need of on that occasion.

To the same. Dated Romney, 13th Sept.

The Duke of Berry having informed the king, by letters brought by the prior of St. Thomas of Canterbury, that in consequence of the great mortality in the marshes of Boulogne and Calais, where the ambassadors were to assemble on the 16th day of September following, it would be advisable that they should meet at Bruges or Amiens: it appears, nevertheless, to the king, that as the said prior has reported, that there is no mortality in the said marshes, or in the marshes of Piccardy, likely to be dangerous to those coming thither, it would be better not to change the place of meeting; yet if any reasonable cause should arise, the ambassadors should be empowered to change the place, and give the necessary passports to those resorting to them. And as Le Sire Destrop, one of the said ambassadors, could

not attend on that occasion, the chancellor is directed to alter the letters patent, putting in his place the name of Thomas Beauford, Admiral of England.

TEMP. HENRY IV*.

Au Rev^{ent} pere en dieu n^{re} t^s ch' cousin levesque d'Excestre n^{re} Chancellor. Dated on board the king's ship named the Trinity, in the Port of Milford, 27th May.

The king, at the request of the Duke of Rothsay, orders the chancellor to prepare letters of safe conduct, under the great seal, for John Spershot, esq. and John Feller, Vallet, who were formerly dwelling with Sir Thomas Mortimer, knight, deceased, to come to the king's presence, in his realm of England, or elsewhere, and to return at their pleasure. *A n^{re} t^s chier clerc Sr John Searle n^{re} Chancellor.*

Dated Hertford Castle, 27th Nov.

The chancellor is directed to give in commandment, by the king's writs under the great seal to the abbot of Cirencester, that he should not do, or cause to be done, any damage or molestation to the king's liege men of the said town, but that he should suffer the said town to be of free condition untill the next parliament.

To the same. Dated the Palace of Westminster, 12th Nov.

John Hulton, of Bacon Street, and John Beadenale, being, by the malice of certain persons, their enemies, indicted of divers murders, rapes, and felo-

* All the letters of this king are in French.

nies, before the Justices of the peace for the county of Stafford, the king wills, that the indictment be removed into the king's bench, to be there determined according to the laws.

TEMP. HENRY V *.

"To the worshipful Fader in God oure right trusty and welbeloved the Bishop of Duresme our Chancellor of England." Dated the Town of Vernon, 28th April.

The king encloses a petition from the parson of Street, in Somersetshire, complaining that the abbot and convent of Glastonbury had taken away his plough, &c. and imprisoned his men, because he had sued them for tithes; and orders the chancellor to call both parties before him, "and their causes herd, that he do unto them both right and equite; and in especial that he see that the porer party suffre no wrong."

To the same. Dated Lambhithe, 9th May.

The chancellor is commanded to attend to the petition of Margery Daye, touching certain extortions and harms done unto her husband and her by John Armesby, notary of Leicester; and to see that right be done to the party complainant, "and the more favourably, considering the poverty of the said Margery."

To the same. Dated "In oure hoost before Roan." 9th August.

The chancellor is ordered to cause proclamation

* These letters are written in English, as are all those of King Henry V. after the year 1417.

to be made in all the sea-ports and other places, that the truce between the king and the duke of Bretagne was “prorogued until Halownesse next coming.”

TEMP. HENRY VI*.

“*To the Right Reverend Fader in God, our right trusty and right welbeloved the Archbishop of Canterbury, our Chancellor of England.*” Dated at Alforsh, 24th January. [25 Henry VI.]

Though the king had before written to the chancellor for the removing the parliament, which was to have been holden at Cambridge, to Winchester, on account of the pestilence; yet he now directs that it be holden at the town of St. Edmund’s Bury.

To the same. Dated Westminster, 8th July.

There being an assize arraigned by one Edmund Cornwall, in the county of Hereford, against Humphrey Blount, and others of his freehold in Ashton, before William Yelverton and Richard Bingham, justices; the chancellor is ordered to make letters of association under the great seal, that William Burley be associate with them, and that they should not proceed on the said assize unless he be present.

To the same. Dated at our Castle of Berkhamsted, the last day of May, [22 Hen. VI.]

The wardship and marriage of the daughter of

* These letters as well as those of the same king, are written in English, and most of his letters are signed with his initials R. H. at the top of the letter. The royal signature does not appear to any letter before his time.

the duke of Somerset, then lately deceased, to be granted to the earl of Suffolk; and the chancellor is directed to prepare letters patent accordingly.

TEMP. EDWARD IV *.

To the Rt. Rev'eud fadre and entirely beloved Cousin our Chancellor of England. Dated Pomfret Castle, 2d Dec. [1463.]

A commission of oyer and terminer to be made, directed to John Shipward, mayor of Bristol, Nicholas Chook, one of the king's justices, Thomas Yong, serjeant at law, and others, for the punishment of certain persons who had stirred up commotions and insurrections in the town of Bristol and its neighbourhood; with a memorandum in the king's own hand, that if the chancellor thought he should have a warrant, he might have one made in due form.

To the right reverend fader in God our right trusty and welcloved the Bishop of Bathe, our Chancellor. Dated Canterbury 11th June.

The king commands the chancellor to send him by the bearer, a new commission of the peace for the county of Suffolk, inclosing a schedule of the names to be contained in it, and charging him not to change the same commission in any wise, without a special commandment from him so to do.

* The letters of King Edward IV. are all written in English, and most of them signed by the king, with a monogram formed of the letters R. E. and frequently with notes at the bottom in the king's hand-writing.

"To our trusty and welbeloved clerk Maister Robert Kirkeham, keeper of our great seel and of our rolles in oure Chancerie, and our welbeloved Counsellour Thomas Colt, clerk of our hanaper."
Dated the Monastery of St. Albans, April.

The king is very much surprized that a safe conduct has not been made for the Kervel of Spain lying at Southampton, and for the master and mariners of the same, according to the verbal directions given by him to the clerk of the rolls, and the privy seal delivered to him by the earl of Worcester; and peremptorily commands him to make it out without delay, for which, if the warrant were not sufficient, he should have it renewed, though the king thought his speech was sufficient warrant; with a note in the king's hand-writing, that he "willed the premises to be sped without delay."

TEMP. RICHARD III *.

"To the Right Reverend Fader in God, our right trusty and welbeloved the Bishop of Lincolne, our Chancellor of England. Duted our town of - - - ngdon, 12th March.

The chancellor is ordered to make a commission under the great seal, for taking such carpenters and other artificers as might be thought expedient for the finishing of the chapel of our Lady and St. Nicholas (now King's College) in the university of Cambridge.

* The letters of King Richard III. are all in English, signed by him at the top with the letters R. R.

To the same. Dated the Castle of Kenelworth, 22d May.

The king of Scotland having desired a safe conduct for the archbishop of St. Andrew's, with forty persons on horseback to pass to Rome; and also for certain persons to be commissioners to keep the diet to be holden on the borders; the king orders the chaneellor to prepare letters patent under the great seal, assuring him by that letter signed with his hand, that his majesty, at more leisure, would make unto him such sufficient warrant for his discharge in that behalf, as he should think best to be devised; enclosing a schedule with the names of the Scotch commissioners, signed by the king at the top and bottom.

To the same. Dated the Monastery of Gloucester, 2d Aug.

The chancellor is ordered to make letters of general pardon, under the great seal, for Sir Ralph Hastings, knight, late lieutenant of the castle of Guines; and also letters of confirmation of all lands, "Livelode," and offices granted to him by king Edward the fourth, and to cause the same to be delivered to the said Sir Ralph out of the king's hanaper, sending unto his majesty the very copies of them, to the intent that he might thereupon provide a more sufficient warrant to the chancellor, besides that letter signed with his hand.

PRIVILEGES AND PASTIMES OF THE POOR IN THE
REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE following article is a transcript from the original, formerly in the possession of Sir John Evelyn, Bart. It shews the methods that were formerly used of granting relief to the necessitous; it next proves, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, sports on Sundays were common; and, lastly, it makes us acquainted with the nature of the pastimes that were in use in those days.

Middlesex.—To all mayors, shereffes, constables, and other hed officers, within the counte of Middlesex.

After our hartie commendations. Whereas we are informed, that one John Secenton Powlter, dwellinge within the parishe of St. Clement's Danes, beinge a poore man, havinge fower small children, and fallen into decay, ys lycensed to have and use some playes and games, at uppon nine severall Sondaies, for his better relief, comforte, and sustentacion, within the countie of Middlesex, to commence and begynne at and from xxiind daie of Maie next comynge, after the date hereof; and not to remayne in one place not aboute three severall Sondaies: and we, considerynge that great resort of people is lyke to come thereunto, we will and require you, as well for good order, as also for the preservation of the Queen's Majesty's peace, that you take with you foure or five of the discrete

and substantial men within your office, or tribute, where the games shall be put in practice, then and there to foresee and do your endeavour to your best in that behalf, during the continuance of the games or plaies; which games are hereafter severally mentioned, that is to say, the shotinge with the standard, the shotinge with the brode arrowe, the shotinge and the twelve shore prick, the shotinge at the tarthe, the lepinge for men, the runninge for men, the wrastlinge, the throwinge of the sledge, and the pytchinge of the barre, with all such other games as have at any time heretofore or now be lycensed, used, or played.

Geaven the xxvith day of Aprill, in the eleventh year of the Queen's Majesty's raigne.

REGULATION OF HOUSEHOLD SERVANTS IN THE COURT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IN the sixteenth century, servants were held in a greater degree of subjection than they are at present; as will appear by the following very curious list of penalties, kept by the ancestors of an English baronet, 1565-6, for the better regulation of the duties of the household.

I. That no seruant bee absent from praier, at morning or euening, without a lawful excuse, to be alledged within one day after, vpon paine to forfeit for every time 2d.

II. That none swear anie othe upon paine for euery one 1d.

III. That no man leaue anie doore open that he findeth shut, without there bee cause, upon paine for euery tyme 1d.

IV. That none of the men be in bed from our Lady-day to Michaelmas, after six of the clock in the morning; nor out of his bed after ten of the clock at night; nor from Michaelmas till our Lady-day, in bed after seven in the morning, nor out after nine at night, without reasonable cause, on paine of 2d.

V. That no man's bed be vnmade, nor fire or candle box vncleane, after eight of the clock in the morning, on paine of 1d.

VI. That no man commit any nuisance within either of the courts, vpon paine of euery tyme it shall be proued 1d.

VII. That no man teach anie of the children any vn honest speeche, on paine of 4d.

VIII. That no man waite at the table without a trencher in his hand, except it be vpon some good cause, on paine of 1d.

IX. That no man appointed to wait at my table bee absent at any meale, without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d.

X. If anie man breake a glasse, hee shall answer the price thereof out of his wages: and if it bee not known who breake it, the butler shall pay for it, on paine of 12d.

XI. The table must couered halfe an houre before eleven at dinner, and six at supper, or before, on paine of 2d.

XII. That meate be readie at eleven, or before, at dinner, and six, or before, at supper, on paine of 6d.

XIII. That none bee absent, without leave or good cause, the whole day, or anie part of it, on paine of 4d.

XIV. That no man strike his fellow, on paine of loss of seruice; nor reuile or threaten, or provoke one another to strike, on paine of 12d.

XV. That no man come to the kitchen without reasonable cause, on paine of 1d. and the cook likewise to forfeit 1d.

XVI. That none toy with the maids, on paine of 4d.

XVII. That no man weare foule shirt on Sundaye, nor broken hose or shooes, or doublett without buttons, on paine of 1d.

XVIII. That when anie stranger goeth hence, the chamber be dressed up again within four hours after, on paine of 1d.

XIX. That the hall be made clean euery daie, by eight in the winter, and seuan in the summer, on paine of him that shall doe it 1d.

XX. That the court-gate bee shut each meale, and not open during dinner and supper, without just cause, on paine the porter to forfeit for euery tyme 1d.

XXI. That all stayrs in the house, and other rooms that need shall require, bee made cleane on Frydaie after dinner, on paine of forfeiture of euery one of whom it shall belong vnto 3d.

All which summes shall be duly paide each quarter-daie out of their wages; and bestowed on the poor or other godly vse. * * S.

STATE OF THE BRITISH ROYAL NAVY IN THE REIGN
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE following list of the triumphant navy of the renowned Queen Bess, is extracted from a MS. book of her yearly expenditure, civil and military, richly done up in vellum, and lettered on the back, "——ate of England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ——*"

"The number and names of the Queen's shippes.

"The figures on the left side sheweth the number of the shippes.

"The first place on the right hande sheweth the tonnage of euery shippe.

"The second sheweth how many men eache of them is allowed in harborough to keepe them.

"The third sheweth the number of men that euery shipp is allowed when she is at sea in service.

"The fowerth place sheweth howe many of her men must be mariners.

* The remainder of the letters are illegible, and the title, with several pages, are lost.

“ The fifth sheweth howe many of her men must be gonners.

“ The sixte sheweth how many of her men must be souldiers.

1. The Triumph	1000	30	500	340	40	120
2. The Elizabeth Jonas	900	30	500	340	40	120
3. The Beare	900	30	500	340	40	120
4. Du Mer L'Honneur	900	30	500	340	40	120
5. The Victory	800	17	400	268	32	100
6. The Arke Roiall	800	17	400	268	32	100
7. The Mary Rose	600	12	250	150	30	70
8. The Hope	600	12	250	150	30	70
9. The Eliza Bonadventure .	600	12	250	150	30	70
10. The Golden Hynde	500	12	250	150	30	70
11. The Garland	500	12	250	150	30	70
12. The Nonparielle	500	12	250	150	30	70
13. The Defiance	500	12	250	150	30	70
14. The Vanguard	500	12	250	150	30	70
15. The Rainebowe	500	12	250	150	30	70
16. The Dreadnought	400	10	200	140	20	40
17. The Swiftsure	360	10	180	120	20	40
18. The Antilopp	340	9	160	114	16	30
19. The Swallowe	300	9	160	114	16	30
20. The Foresight	300	9	160	114	16	30
21. The Ayde	240	6	120	88	12	20
22. The Quittaunce	260	6	100	76	12	12
23. The Annswere	160	6	100	76	12	12
24. The Crane	160	6	100	76	12	12
25. The Vantage	160	6	100	76	12	12
26. The Bull	160	6	100	76	12	12
27. The Tyger	160	6	100	76	12	12
28. The Tramontana	130	6	70	52	8	10
29. The Scout	120	5	70	52	8	10
30. The Acates	100	4	60	42	8	10
31. The Popingay	100	3	60	42	8	10
32. The George	80	3	24	20	4	10

RECORDS IN THE EARL OF ORKNEY'S COURT. 287

33. The Galley Bonaboglia ...	100	4	50	30	8	12
34. The Charles	70	4	45	35	4	6
35. The Moone	60	4	40	30	4	6
36. The Spie	60	4	40	30	4	6
37. The Aduyce	60	4	40	30	4	6
38. The Merlion.....	40	4	35	27	4	4
39. The Sunne	30	3	30	25	3	2
40. The Cygnet.....	20	2	20	16	2	2
Sixe Boates	0	6	180	174	0	0
The Frigate	20	2	35	0	0	0
The French Frigate	20	2	35	0	0	0
The Gennet	200	2	0	0	0	0

RECORDS OF JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS IN THE COURT OF THE EARL OF ORKNEY*.

5. August 1602 —One man having gripped half a rig of his neighbour's land, the judge and assize fine him for it, and ordains the haill land in Skelberry, of the king, kirk, and udel, to be partit be the fold and sax honest nybors, and ilk owner to be possessed of his awn pairt, according to the use of nyhborheid.

3. July 1602 —[*Petty Crimes.*] Laurence Still is tryit to have disobeyit the fold's doome for certain debt restand to him, thairfore is discernit to pay an dunira, under the pain of poynding.

16. July 1602.—It it tryit and provin, that David Foulisdail hes disobeyit the fold in detaining

* Notes of Orkney and Zetland ; illustrative of the History, Antiquities, Scenery, and Customs of those Islands. By ALEX. PETERKIN, Esq., Sheriff-substitute of Orkney. 1 vol. 8vo. Edinburgh.

ane servant quhilk he was discernit to leife, and keeping him all the winter thairafter; decernis him to pay 1 mark ilk nicht the tyme he detainet him, under the pain of poynding.

23. July 1602.—It is tryit that Gregorius Thomasoun brak the arrestment maid be the fold of Zell upon certain corns; thairfoir is discernit to pay the sune of 10 libs.

5. August 1602.—James Barnetson and Adam Cromartie, baith proven in the foldis buiks to have disobeyit to gang to my lord's wark in Scaloway, as they were discernit; thairfoir ilk ane of thame ar discernit to pay for disobedience 40s.

21. June 1603.—Ingager in Leady is tryit to have steyit the deid unburyit, and thairfoir is discernit to pay 40s. under the pain of poynding; and ordains the hail commonis within the yle of Yell to burie thair deid how shone ony sall happin to die, without ony delay or impediment, ilk persoun under the pain of 40s. and ratifies and apprevis the decretis and doomes pronouncit and maid heiranent in all poyntis.

5. July 1604.—Magnus Erasmussoun, for bein fow and drunken, contrair and agains the actis maid thairanent of befoir, and for bleiding himself be his drunkenness beneath the ene; thairfoir is discernit to pay for hts fowness 10 libs. and for his bluid beneath the ene 4 markis, in exampil of utheris.

10. July 1602.—*Crimes Capital, viz. Theft.*]

Anent the accusation of Margaret Peter's dochter, for the theftous steilling of an sheip of hir nyhbors, having na sheip of her awin, comperit the said Margaret in judgment, and confest the stowth of the said sheip, not knawing quha aucht the samen, confessing the samen to be done in plain hunger and necessitie; quhilk being consideret be the Assise, and trying this to be the first fault, discernis her haill guidis, and gere, and landis, gif ony be, to be escheit, and hirsself to be banist the countrie within the space of an monet, at the least in the first passage; and gif she beis apprehendit with the walor of ane viristhifft heirafter, to be tane and drownit to the daith, in the exampill of utheris.

Anent the accusation of Olaw Mawnsoun, for the theftous steilling of ane sheip of his motheris, quhilk was rausellit, and found with him, quha being accusit thairfoir in judgment, could not deny the samen; yet not the less the Assyse takand consideration thairinto, and finding the samen to be the first falt, discernis his and his wyffis haill guidis and gere and landis to be escheat, and themselfs to be baneist the countrie within the space of an monet, at the leist in the first passage; and gif thai be apprehendit in the walor of an viris-thifft heirafter, to be tane an put to the daithe, in exampill of utheris.

21. July 1602.—It is tryit and provit be certain Ranselmen, that Intale Automissounstand, in Seter has stown certain fische out of the skoes of St,

Magnus parochin, and thir fische found in his house under the nyhbor's markis; and thair his haill guidis and gère discernit escheit; and gif he beis apprehendit with the valor of an uris-thift heir-aftir, to be tane and hangit be the craige quhill he die, in exampill of utheris.

23. Ditto.—In a case of repeated theft—The Assise (alone) finding the points of ditty for the maist pairt haillily proven, and tryin also (the criminal) to have been a notorious thief thir mony yiers of befoir; thairfoir thai all in one vote discernis his landis, guidis, and gère to be escheit, and himself to be tane to the Gallow-hill, and thair to be hangit be the craige whill he die, in example of utheris.

5. July 1604.—It is statut and ordainit that nane within the parochin (of Aithsting and Sandsting in Waiss) sell ony of their oxin to Duchmen, stranger, or utheris out of the countrie, fra this furthe, ilk persoun under the pain of 40 libs. toties quoties.

It appears, from other entries, that confiscation of property was also the penalty of suicide; but with these already given we must conclude.

The population of Orkney and Zetland was, in 1801, 46,824; in 1811, it had decreased to 46,153; and by the last returns, in 1821, had risen to 52,124.

LETTERS WRITTEN DURING THE CIVIL WARS.

THE following letters are copied from the originals. Lady Forster was wife to Sir Claudius Forster, of Bamburg, county of Northumberland; and daughter of Sir William Fenwick, knight. The first is without date, but was evidently written during the civil wars.

“ John Appleby; Itt is impossible for mee to give you direcc’ons touching everything; for ye times are so changeable and daungerous as none none can tell what to doe for the best. Therefore I com’itt all my occasions to your discrec’on, to doe the best you can, as you see cause; and wherein I can give you direcc’ons, you shall know my mind. And first I thinke it very necessary that you get what corne you can from Styford; for assure yourselve that corne will be more precious than gould, if you can but gett itt and keepe itt; but thatt wee must referre to God, yett lett us doe that which is most probably the best. As for my goods, I cannot tell what to say, for in this countrey all is taken and in takeing. I hope you will escape as long as any, if you could but keepe them from theeves; for in this countrey it is marvell to see either sheepe or beastes. I would have you send Alexander Dixson to my brother Carnaby and Mr. Saunderson with thes letters; and if Alexander cannot goe, send some other when you thinke most fitt. Tell Robert Wilkinson, of Espersheales, that I am pleased hee take some oxen to doe their

worke for their meate, upon condic'on hee can keepe them from the theeves. I have sent two cakes for Francis and Maudlin; and I have sent you garden seedes, which I would have sowne as soon as you can; but be sure you cover them with some birch or firr, for fear of the turkyes and hennes. Your wife and children are well, and I think will not be fearefull as long as wee are here; and therefore you need take noe care for them as yett; but how soon wee shall be distressed, God knowes. That is all I can say for the present.

“ELIZABETH FORSTER.”

From Sir Claudius Forster, “to his Chaplain Mr. CUTHBERT MARLEY, at Baumburgh.”

“Mr. Marley; In my absence be carefull thatt all things be right ordered and kept. As for your arreares for your wages, dewe at New-yeare's day last, being seaventeen poundes, w'h makes just 40*l.* being all that is dewe unto you untill Mid-som'er next; I praye you not to fail, but to goe over unto Balmbroughshire to this bearer, for the speddy and more redy dispatch of him for comeinge upp with y^e rentes; and for provision, there is both malt and wheat bred, beside mutton at . . . ington, and other petty tithes, that will save you from starveing of hunger. I am in haste, and soe must rest, sayeing this much, that if any doe wrong my tenants in my absence, they shal feare me when I doe return, if my Maister get the better; and mean-

whill let my tenants appeale to S'r Raiph Delavall, or S'r Raiph Gray, who are the two I most presume of in Northumberland; and I know that com'only a man's absence gives way to a man's subtile adversary; and thus I rest your patron.

“CLAUDIUS FORSTER.

“*From Tuxford, this first of June.*”

Together with the above are the two following:—

“*To all Captains, and them whom it concernes.*

“*London.*—These are to require you to permit and suffer Mr. Edward Hinks and Mrs. Frances Pickett to pass your courts of guard, with one horse, into my Lord Faifax his army, without any interruption. This 21st of May, 1644.

“By warrant of y^e Lord Maior,

“JO. READINGE.”

Seal, three boars' heads couped, two and one.

“HARRY EWBANKE.—Permitt ye Baron of Hilton and his Sonnes to pass with eighteen horse from Weimouth to Hartinpole in such sort as suites their quality, they having given their honors to make no attempt on the Parliament souldjers; for w'h this shal be your good warrant:

“FRANCIS WRENN*.

“*Durham, 24th Aug. 1647.*”

* Francis Wrenn, of Henknowle, (of the Binchester family,) bore a colonel's commission, and acted as a magistrate under the Parliament, and under Cromwell; but behaved with much greater mildness and moderation towards the Loyalists than most of his colleagues.

LETTERS DURING A RIOT IN THE NAVY.

The following curious Documents are from the Originals, in the possession of G. P. JERVOISE, Esq. M. P. of Herriard House, Hants.

1. "Wee whose names are here vnder mentioned doe ingage our sellues vnder the com'ande of Henry Jeruis, Capt. of the ffellowshipp now vnder the com'ande of the Right Hono^{ble} Ro^{bt} Earlle of Warwick Lord high Adm^{tl} of England, ffor to to aduenture our liues vnder the afforsaide com'anders ffor the deffence of the Kinge, Parliment, and Kingdome, and to ffech in and subdeue (by the grace of God) the reuolted shippes into the obedience of the Kinge and Parlymente. In witnes hereof we haue sett our hands this ffowertenth of Augst 1648.

"Henry Jervoise, Capt.

"William Comley, Mate.

"Anthony Roworth, Mate.

"Anthony Crowne, Corp'rall."

[Signed also by 44 others.]

2. "Sir, These tymes being full of jealousye, and some informac'ons being exhibited to mee, and the Commissioners of Parlyam^t. concerning yo' sonne, I haue p'waded him to lay down his present charge in the ffellowshipp (w^{ch} I thineke much better than to bring matters to a contest, and therby hazard the subiecting of himselfe to the inconvenience of a publicke complaint;) and have thought fitt to accompany him with this assurance,

That as I shalbee ready vpon all occasions to serve you, soe I shall not bee wanting in any office of freindshipp which I shal bee able hereafter to shoue him. Hoping that the goodness of God to the Nation will soe setle our present distractions at sea, as may putt me into a capacity of manifesting my respect towards him, in testimony of that affecc'on thats borne vnto yo'selfe, by yo' assured friend

WARWICKE.

" Tilbury Hope, 14 August, 1648.

" To my hono'd freind Sir Thomas Jervoise, Knt. a Member of the hono'ble House of Commons.

[Indorsed " August 14, 1648. Earl of Warwick to Sir T. Jervoise about turning Henry Jervoise out of his ship."]

EXTRACT from the BOOK OF SPORTS; as set forth
by CHARLES THE FIRST*.

BY THE KING.

" OUR dear father, of blessed memory, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations, upon Sundays after evening prayers ended, and upon holidays: and he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who la-

* It will be impossible for the reader to peruse this article without being sensibly struck with the contrast of things during the present church-building era, and the time to which it refers. So far from amusements being sanctioned on Sunday, the necessities of life are now actually prohibited from being sold on that day.

bour hard all the week, should have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits ; did, in his princely wisdom, publish a declaration to ALL his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times : which after other particulars, proceeds and says :—

‘ It is true, that at our first entry to this crown and kingdom, we were informed, and that too truly, that our county of Lancashire abounded more in Popish recusants, than any county of England, and thus hath still continued since, to our great regret, with little amendment, save that now of late, in our last riding through our said county, we find, both by the report of the judges, and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to us.

‘ The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made us the more sorry, when with our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people, that they were barred from all lawful recreation and exercise upon the Sundays afternoon, after the ending of all divine service ; which cannot but produce two evils : the one the hindering the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion here to vex, persuading them, that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion, which cannot but breed a great discontent in our people’s hearts ; especially of such as are peradventure upon the point of turn-

ing. The other inconveniēce is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people, from using such exercises, as may make their bodies more able for war, when we or our successors shall have occasion to use them ; and in place thereof, sets up filthy tipplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their ale-houses. For when shall the the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays ; seeing they must apply to their labour, and win their living in all working days ?

‘ Our express law therefore is, that the laws of our kingdom, and canons of our church, be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this our kingdom. And on the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to our good people, which shall not tend to the breach of our aforesaid laws, and canons of our church ; which to express more particularly, our pleasure is that the bishop, and all other inferior churchmen, and churchwardens, shall for their parts be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and convince and reform them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out against our judges and justices ; whom we likewise command to put the law in due execution against them.

‘ Our pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like straight order with all

the puritans and precisians, within the same, either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of our kingdom, and canons of our church; and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of our authority, and adversaries of our church. And,

‘ As for our good people’s lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of may-games, whitson-ales, and morris-dances, and the setting up of may-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service: and that women shall have leaves to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom. But withal, we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people, prohibited, bowling. And likewise we bar from this benefit and liberty, all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and

serve God: prohibiting in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations. Our pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office, shall present, and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this our liberty, will use these exercises before the ends of all divine services for that day. And we likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish church, to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service. Prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried or used in the said times of recreations; and our pleasure is, that this our declaration shall be published by order from the Bishop of the diocese, thro' all the parish churches; and that both our Judges of our circuit, and our justice of our peace be informed.

' Given at our Manor of Greenwich, the four and twentieth day of May, in the sixteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.'

“ Now, out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours, that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of our well deserving people, we do ratify and publish this our blessed father's declaration: the rather, because of late in some counties of our

kingdom, we find, that under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes. Now, our express will and pleasure is, that these feasts, with others, shall be observed, and that our Justices of the peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there, may be prevented and punished; and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises be used. And we farther command our Justices of assize, in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to us, and our laws. And of this we command all our Judges, Justices of the peace, as well within liberties, as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender our displeasure. And we farther will, that publication of this our command be made, by order from the Bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively.

“ Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighteenth day of October, in the ninth year of our reign.”

ORIGINAL LETTERS of KING CHARLES I. *affording historical Evidence of two interesting Events in the reign of that unfortunate monarch.*

THE following letters have remained, from the remote period in which they were written, among the family documents of the late Henry Fotherley, Esq. of Whitfield, of the Bury, in the parish of Rickmansworth, in the county of Hertfordshire, whose ancestor Sir Ralph Whitfield, (who married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Spelman, the celebrated antiquary,) was prime serjeant to King Charles the First:—

“ CHARLES R.

“ Right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, We greet you well. Whereas (in regard of our residence) Wee have thought fit to have the next Terme kept in this our Citty of Yorke; our will and expresse command therefore is, that you forthwith give order that Trinity Terme next bee adjourned to this our Citty, to be holden at the usuall time; and that the writts of adjournment bee issued forth accordingly, under our Greate Seal, for doing thereof. And that a proclamation bee presently sent out, to give timely notice, in the several counties of this our kingdome and dominion of Wales; and for the more orderly and formall performance hereof, Wee will that you advise with our Judges, soe that all things neces-

sary for the premisses bee timely and effectually performed; for which this shall bee your warrant*.

“ Given att our Court at Yorke, the 14th of May, 1642.

“ I expect your obedience in this, without reply, and with as much secresie as the business can aford. “ C. R.

“ To our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Edward Lord Littleton, Keeper of our greate seale of England.”

“ MY LORD KEEPER,

“ I cannot say that your last letter of the 13th of May is the cause of this (the necessitie of my affaires being the only trew motive of it); but I asseure you it gives me the more confidence to be-
lieve that what I command in this will have the more willing obedience. It is this: I fynde an absolute necessitie (the particular reasons I have not tyme to show you), that you and my Great Seale should wait upon mee heere with all possible speede, bothe for your good and myne; therefor my expresse will and pleasur is, that immediatlie after the receipt of this you take your jurnie hither, with as much diligence as your boddie will permitt

* Le Roi voulut aussi transférer les cours de justice de Westminster à Yorck; et il envoya même une proclamation sur ce sujet, du garde du Grand Sceau, avec ordre de la faire publier: mais le Parlement en ayant été informé, lui défendit de exécuter cet ordre.—*Rapin*, vol. viii. p. 288.

Translation.—The King wished also to transfer the courts of justice of Westminster to York; and he even sent a proclamation on this subject, under the great seal; but Parliament being informed of it, forbade him to execute the order.

you. Now, because I cannot expect you shall make such haste, but that an order of Parliament must overtake to stop you (if they have a mynd to it); therefor I have commanded this bearer, my servant, Tho. Elyot, to receave the Greate Seale from you, and to bring it to me with all possible speede*; in all which as I command your reddie and punctuall obedience, without delayes or reply; so I do assure you, upon the faith of a Christian, that I have not the least thought of keeping it from you; but, on the contraire, not only to returne it to you, how soone ye cum hither, but also I meane to show you, that heerin I intend your particular good, as well as my owen service, for you shall fynde me really to be your constant friend,

“ CHARLES R.

“ Secresie in this is requisit, as well as obedience; therfor I command you as few as may be know of your jurnie, but none except this bearer (if it bee possible) that the Great Seale is sent before you.

“ C. R.

“ Yorke, 19 May, 1642.

“ In this if I fynde in you a cheerfull obedience, I shall put on your fidelitie such a marke of my favor, as shall testifie the great estimation I have of your person and services.

“ C. R.”

* Le 22 de Mai, le Lord Littleton livra le Grand Sceau pour etre porté au Roi, et le suivit lui-même dès lendemain, avant que le Parlement en eut aucune connoissance.—*Ib.* p. 332.

Translation.—May 22, Lord Littleton gave up the great seal to be carried to the king, and followed it himself early the next morning, before the Parliament were aware of it, &c.

ANECDOTES RELATIVE TO THE MASKED EXECUTIONER OF CHARLES I.

It is universally known, that, at the execution of King Charles the First, a man in a vizor performed the office of executioner. This circumstance has given rise to a variety of conjectures and accounts. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1767, and January 1768, are accounts of one William Walker, who is said to be the executioner. In the same magazine for June 1784, it is supposed to be a Richard Brandon, of whom a long account is copied from an Exeter newspaper. But William Lilly, in his "*History of his Life and Times*," has the following remarkable passage:—"Many have curiously enquired who it was that cut off his [the King's] head: I have no permission to speak of such things: only thus much I say, he that did it, is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune." To clear up this passage, we shall present our readers with Lilly's examination (as related by himself) before the first parliament of King Charles II. in June 1660.

"At my first appearance, many of the young members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrilous questions. Mr. Weston held a paper before his mouth; bade me answer nobody but Mr. Prinn; I obeyed his command, and saved myself much trouble thereby, and when Mr. Prinn put any difficult or doubtful query unto me, Mr. Weston prompted me with a fit question. At last,

after almost one hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the person that cut Charles the First's head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows; viz.

“That the next Sunday but one after Charles the First was beheaded, Robert Spavin, Secretary to Lieutenant-General Cromwell at that time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought Anthony Pearson, and several others, along with him, to dinner. That their principal discourse all dinner-time was, only, who it was that beheaded the King; one said it was the common hangman; another, Hugh Peters; others were also nominated; but none concluded. Robert Spavin so soon as dinner was done, took me by the hand; and carried me to the south window: saith he,

“‘These are all mistaken; they have not named the man that did the fact; it was Lieutenant-Colonel Joice. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work: stood behind him when he did it; when done, went in with him again: there is no man knows this but my master, viz. Cromwell, Commissary Ireton, and myself.’—‘Doth Mr. Rushworth know it?’ saith I.—‘No, he doth not know it,’ saith Spavin. The same thing Spavin since has often related to me when we were alone.”

The following extraordinary anecdotes respecting this mysterious circumstance, is taken from *Delassements de l'Homme Sensible*, (The Recreations

of the Man of Feeling,) by M. d'Arnaud, an author greatly celebrated in France for the virtuous tendency of his writings; and who, although he has avowedly embellished his narration, by giving it a dramatic turn, solemnly asserts that he received the particulars from a man of letters, of the strictest probity, to whom it was related by an intimate friend of Lord S.'s.

"This lord," says M. d'Arnaud, "was the favourite of King George II. and one of the generals of the English army at the battle of Dettingen. The dispositions of the Marshal de Noailles were so judicious, that nothing but the impetuosity of a subordinate French officer saved the allied army from destruction, and even gave them an unexpected victory. The consequence was, that Lord S. who was the only person that seemed to be sensible of the unskillful movements of the allies, but whose sentiments were disregarded, lost the favour of his sovereign, and retired from the army in disgust. On his arrival at London, he proposed to reside on his estate in Scotland; but some days before his intended departure, he received a letter in a very extraordinary style, calculated at once to stimulate curiosity in a mind not easily daunted. It desired an interview at a particular time and place, upon the business of the utmost importance, and requiring him to come unattended. His lordship, who did not pay immediate attention to this letter, received a second the next day, in terms

more energetic. This second summons appeared too singular to be disregarded. Lord S. therefore went to the place appointed without any attendants, but not unarmed; nor was he absolutely devoid of fear, when he entered one of the by-places in the metropolis, that most commonly indicate the residence of poverty and wretchedness. He went up a dirty staircase into a garret, where, by the glimmering light, he perceived a man stretched upon a bed, with every appearance of extreme old age. 'My lord,' said this unexpected object, 'I was impatient to see you. I have heard of your fame. Be seated: you have nothing to apprehend from a man one hundred and twenty-five years old.' Lord S. sat down, waiting with the utmost impatience for the unravelling of this extraordinary adventure, while the centenary proceeded to inquire whether his lordship had not occasion for certain writings that related to his family and fortune. 'Yes,' replied his lordship, with emotion, 'I want certain papers, the loss of which has deprived me of great part of my inheritance.' 'There,' returned the old man, giving him the key of a small casket, 'there are these writings deposited.' 'To whom,' said his lordship, the moment he discovered this treasure, 'to whom am I indebted for this inestimable favour?' 'Oh, my son!' replied the old man, 'come and embrace your great grandfather.' 'My great grandfather!' interrupted his lordship, with inexpressible astonishment, when

this ancestor informed him, that he was the masked executioner of King Charles I.

“ ‘An insatiable thirst of vengeance,’ continued he, ‘impelled me to this abominable crime. I had been treated, as I imagined, with the highest indignity by my sovereign. I suspected him of having seduced my daughter. I sacrificed every sense of loyalty and virtue to revenge this imaginary injury. I entered into all the designs of Cromwell and his associates, I paved the way to his usurpation: I even refined on vengeance; I solicited Cromwell to let me be the executioner, and; to fill up the measure of my guilt, the unhappy king knew before the fatal blow, the man that was to inflict it. From that day, my soul has been a prey to distraction and remorse. I have been an exile, a voluntary outcast in Europe and Asia, near fourscore years. Heaven, as if to punish me with severe rigour, has prolonged my existence beyond the ordinary term of nature. This casket is the only remains of my fortune. I came here to end my days. I had heard of your disgrace at court, so much the reverse of what your virtues merited; and I was desirous, before I breathed my last, to contribute thus to your welfare. All the return I ask is that you leave me to my wretched fate; and shed a tear to the memory of one, whose long; long repentance I hope may at last expiate his crime.’

“ Lord S. earnestly pressed his hoary ancestor to retire with him into Scotland; and there to live

for the remainder of his days, under a fictitious name. He long withstood all these entreaties, but wearied out, at length, with importunity, he consented, or rather seemed to consent. The next day, however, when his lordship returned, he found his reputed great grandfather had quitted the spot; and notwithstanding all the researches that were made, his fate remains a mystery to this day."

ANECDOTE relating to CHARLES I.

(from SEWARD'S BIOGRAPHIANA, vol. ii. p. 442,
1st edit. 1799.)

" THOMAS TROPHAM

Was surgeon to Lord Fairfax, and was created Batchelor of Physick by the university of Oxford. After the execution of Charles the First he was appointed to embalm the body and sew on the head. This he did in the presence of many spectators, and exclaimed to them afterwards that he had been sewing on the head* of a goose."—*Wood's Athenæ.*

Note by Mr. Seward.

* " So far will party and prejudice go. Charles was assuredly the most learned, the most accomplished, and the finest gentleman of any of the monarchs that have blessed this country; and Harry Martin said in the House of Commons, after his death, that if we were to have a king, he would as soon have the last gentleman in that situation as any sovereign he had ever known."

PARTICULARS OF THE INTERMENT OF KING CHARLES
THE FIRST.

THE recent discovery of the corpse of Charles I. confirms a loose account of its interment in Windsor Castle, which appears in Fuller's "Church History." The particulars will now be found interesting; and the present discovery, and the old narrative, may mutually throw light on each other. It has often been questioned whether the Royal corpse was actually there interred.

"The corpse of Charles I. embalmed and confined in lead, was delivered to the care of two of his servants to be buried at Windsor. On the following day the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertfort, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, (others declining the service,) came to Windsor, and brought with them two votes, passed that morning in Parliament, which wholly committed the burial to the Duke of Richmond, provided the expence should not exceed 500 pounds.

"Coming into the Castle, they shewed their commission to the Governor, Col. Wichcot, desiring to inter the corpse according to the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England. But this was refused by the Governor, alledging, that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what so solemnly they had abolished, and thus destroy their own act. The Lords attempted to prove that there was a difference be-

tween destroying their own act, and dispensing with it for a particular occasion: but the resolute Republican persisted in the negative.

“ And now the Lords betook themselves to their sad employment. They resolved not to inter the corpse in the grave which was provided for it, but in a vault, if the Chapel afforded any. They searched for some time; and in vain sought one in Henry the Eighth’s Chapel (where the tomb intended for him by Cardinal Wolsey lately stood), because all there was solid earth. Then, with their feet, they tried the quire, to see if a sound would confess any hollowness therein: and at last, directed by one of the aged poor Knights, did light on a vault in the middle.

“ It was altogether dark (as made in the midst of the quire), and an ordinary man could not stand therein without stooping, as not exceeding five feet in height. In the midst they discovered a leaden coffin, and a smaller one on the left side: there was just room to receive the coffin of Charles. That the present contained Royal remains, appeared by the perfect pieces of purple velvet (the Regal habit) they found there; though some pieces of the same velvet were fox-tawny, and some coal-black, all the purple colour gone, but evidently originally of the same cloth, varying the colour as it met with more or less moisture as it lay in the ground. The lead coffin, being very thin, was at this time casually broken, and some yellow stuff, altogether

secentless, like powder of gold, taken out of it (supposed to be some exsiccative gums for the embalmment) the Duke caused to be put in again, and the coffin closed.

“The vault thus prepared, a sheet of lead was provided for the inscription. The letters the Duke himself did delineate, and a workman cut them out with a chissel. There was some debate whether the letters should be made in those *concavities* to be cut out, or in the *solid lead* betwixt them. The latter was agreed on, because such vacuities are subject to be soon filled up with dust, and render the inscription less legible, which was,

‘ KING CHARLES, 1648.’

“All things thus in readiness, the corpse was brought to the vault, borne by the soldiers of the garrison. Over it was thrown a black velvet hearse-cloth; the four corners the four Lords did support. The Bishop of London stood weeping by, to tender the only service he was permitted. Then was it deposited in silence and sorrow in the vacant place in that vault (the hearse-cloth being cast in after it), about 3 o'clock in the afternoon; and the Lords that night, though late, returned to London.”

The large and the lesser coffin found in the vault were supposed to be those of Henry VIII. and his Queen Jane Seymour; the place exactly corresponding to the designation of his burial mentioned in his will.

In “A true copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Trial of King Charles I. as it was read in the House of Commons, and attested under the hand of Phelps, clerk to that infamous Court, taken by J. Nalson, LL. D. Jan. 4, 1683,” printed in 1684, p. 118, after an account of the execution, the Author says :—

“Being imbalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some dayes by the people; at length, upon Wednesday the 17th of February, it was delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who, with some others in mourning equipage, attended the herse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room which was formerly the King’s bedchamber. Next day it was removed into the Dean’s Hall, which was hung with black, and made dark, and lights were set burning round the herse. About three afternoon, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartford, the Earls of Salisbury and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, (others, that were sent to, refusing their last services to the best of Princes) came thither with two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the King’s burial was committed to the Duke, provided that the expences thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. This order they shewed to Colonel Whichcot, the Governour of the Castle, desiring the interment might be in St. George’s chappel, and according to the form of the Common Prayer. The latter request the Governour denied,

saying that it was improbable the Parliament would permit the use of what they had so solemnly abolished, and therein destroy their own Act.—The Lords replied, that there was a difference betwixt destroying their own Act, and dispensing with it, and that no power so binds its own hands, as to disable itself in some cases. But all prevailed not. The Governour had caused an ordinary grave to be digged in the body of the church at Windsor for the interment of the corpse; which the Lords disdaining, found means, by the direction of an honest man, one of the old Knights, to use an artifice to discover a vault in the middle of the quire, by the hollow sound they might perceive in knocking with a staff upon that place; that so it might seem to be their own accidental finding out, and no person receive blame for the discovery. This place they caused to be opened; and, entering, saw one large coffin of lead in the middle of the vault, covered with a velvet pall, and a lesser on one side (supposed to be Henry the Eighth and his beloved Queen Saint Maure); on the other side was room left for another (probably intended for Queen Katherine Parre, who survived him) where they thought fit to lay the King.—Hither the herse was borne by the Great Officers of the Garrison, the four Lords bearing up the four corners of the velvet pall, and the Bishop of London following; and in this manner was this great King, upon Fryday the nineteenth of February, about three after-

noon, silently and without other solemnity than of sighs and tears, committed to the earth, the velvet pall being thrown into the vault over the coffin, to which was fastened an inscription in lead of these words: ‘ KING CHARLES, 1648.’ ”

Windsor has generally been supposed, by our best historians, to have been the place of interment of the Martyred Monarch; but that fact was never completely established until the accidental circumstance which has recently occurred, in consequence of the Duchess of Brunswick’s funeral, although the Royal remains have been often sought for. But this discovery seems to confirm the account given by Mr. Herbert, one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and who was the only attendant upon the King from the time of his confinement in Hurst Castle until his execution. Sir William Dugdale, then Garter King at Arms, sent to Herbert, who was living at York, to know if the King had ever, in his hearing, spoken as to where his body should be interred. And Herbert’s reply contained so many curious particulars, that, at Dugdale’s request, they were thrown into a connected form, and published. But his posthumous information, recorded by Wood, is, perhaps, the most interesting, as tending to locate the exact spot of Charles’s interment.

Echard affords the following historical account of the interment:—

“ It has been made a question, and a wonder by

many, why a particular monument was not erected at Windsor for him (King Charles the First) after the Restoration of his son, especially when the Parliament was well inclined to have given a good sum for that grateful purpose. This has caused several conjectures and reflections; and intimations have been given, as if the Royal body had never been deposited there, or else had been afterwards removed by the regicides; and the Lord Clarendon himself (vol. iii. p. 200) speaks softly and suspiciously of this matter, as if he believed the body could not be found. But, to remove all imaginations, we shall here insert a memorandum, or certificate, sent by Mr. John Sewell, Register at Windsor, anno 1696, September 21. The same vault in which King Charles the First was buried was opened, to lay in a still-born child of the then Princess of Denmark, now our gracious Queen. On the King's coffin the velvet pall was strong and sound; and there was about the coffin a leaden band, with this inscription cut through it:—

‘ KING CHARLES, 1648.’

“ Queen Jane's coffin was whole and entire; but that of King Henry the Eighth's was sunk in upon the breast part, and the lead and wood consumed by the heat of the gums he was embalmed with; and when I laid my hand upon it, it was run together and hard, and had no noisome smell.” —As a farther memorandum relating to King Charles's interment, he says, “ That when the body

of King Charles the First lay in state in the Dean's Hall, the Duke of Richmond had the coffin opened, and was satisfied *that it was the King's body*. This several people declared they knew to be true, who were alive, and then present; as Mr. Randolph of Windsor, and others." So that he thinks the Lord Clarendon was misled in that matter, and King Charles the Second never sent to inquire after the body, "since it was well known, both to the inhabitants of the castle and town, that it was in that vault."

By other historians it appears that Mr. Fishborne, Gent. of Windsor, a relation of Sir Christopher Wren's, was among those who were present at the interment of the King, went into the vault, and brought away a fragment of King Henry's pall. He observed, the vault was so narrow, that it was some difficulty to get in the King's coffin by the side of the others *.

This fortunate discovery of the actual remains of the unfortunate King, is not only to be appreciated from its determining a circumstance in the history of the nation before held somewhat in doubt, but the more especially as it completely removes the

* In addition to these testimonies the reader may be referred to "A True Relation of the Interment of King Charles the First, in the Chapel of St. George in Windsor Castle; from an ancient MS. of unquestionable authority;" given in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1772, vol. xlii. p. 175.

stigma attempted to be cast by foreigners upon the character of those who had successfully promoted the Restoration; which the author of a modern publication of considerable and just celebrity, entitled "*Clavis Calendaria*," thus expatiates upon:

"That Charles was buried at Windsor, seems to be generally admitted; but it is to be remarked, that *his remains were never found there, though frequently sought for*. This want of confirmation has given rise to much speculation, and has afforded to the enemies of the Reformation an opportunity of circulating a report, which, although not noticed by our historians, on account of the honour of the nation, is said by foreigners to have been acceded to by them. It is stated, that when the presumed remains of Cromwell were dug up, dragged through the streets, and exposed on a gallows, the persons who executed that disgraceful and impotent piece of revenge, discovered that the head had been separated from the body, though they never mentioned the circumstance until they had carried into effect the order they had received for its complete intended degradation; and that it was from that cause, and others subsequently brought to light, clearly ascertained, that, instead of Cromwell, all this ill-judged revenge had been exerted on Charles the First, whose body had been removed in a secret manner from Windsor, and deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Account of what appeared on opening the coffin of KING CHARLES THE FIRST, in the Vault of KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, on the 1st of April, MDCXIII. By Sir Henry Hallford, Bart., F. R. S. and F. A. S., Physician to the King and Prince Regent.

“Were it allowable,” says the learned Physician, “to hazard a conjecture, after Lord Clarendon’s deprecation of all the conjectures on the subject, one might suppose that it was deemed imprudent, by the ministers of King Charles II., that his Majesty should indulge his pious inclination to reinter his father, at a period when those ill-judged illusions of royalty, which had been manifested by taking out of their graves, and hanging up the bodies of some of the most active members of the court which had condemned and executed the king, might, in the event of another triumph of the Republicans, have subjected the body of the monarch to similar indignity. But the fact is, King Charles I. was buried in the vault of King Henry VIII., situated precisely where Mr. Herbert has described it; and an accident has served to elucidate a point in history, which the great authority of Lord Clarendon had involved in some obscurity.

“On completing the mausoleum, which his late majesty caused to be built in the tomb-house, as it is called, it was necessary to form a passage to it from under the choir of St. George’s chapel. In

constructing this passage, an aperture was accidentally made in one of the walls of the vault of King Henry VIII., through which the workmen were enabled to see, not only the two coffins, which were supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour, but a third also, covered with a black velvet pall, which, from Mr. Herbert's narrative, might fairly be presumed to hold the remains of King Charles I. On representing the circumstance to the Prince Regent (his present Majesty, King George IV.), his royal highness perceived at once, that a doubtful point in history might be cleared up by opening this vault; and accordingly his royal highness ordered an examination to be made on the first convenient opportunity. This was done on the 1st of April last (1813), the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the presence of his royal highness himself, who guaranteed thereby the most respectful care and attention to the remains of the dead, during the enquiry. His royal highness was accompanied by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland, Count Munster, the Dean of Windsor, Benjamin Charles Stevenson, Esq., and Sir Henry Halford.

“The vault is covered by an arch, half a brick in thickness, is seven feet two inches in width, nine feet six inches in length, and four feet ten inches in height, and is situated in the centre of the choir, opposite the eleventh knight's stall, on the sove-

reign's side. On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of having ever been inclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription, ' King Charles, 1648,' in large legible characters, on a scroll of lead incircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body, carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous, or greasy matter, mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been melted, so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full ; and, from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy ; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctuous substance. At length the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance ; the cartilage of the nose was gone ; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately : and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the reign of King Charles, was

perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire. It was difficult at this moment to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I., by Vandyke, by which it has been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's Narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced; and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, an eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined. When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and without any difficulty was taken up and held to view. It was quite wet*, and gave a greenish red tinge to paper and

* "I have not asserted this liquid to be blood, because I had not an opportunity of being sure that it was so, and I wished to record facts only, and not opinions: I believe it, however, to have been blood, in which the head rested. It gave to writing-paper, and to a white handkerchief, such a colour as blood which has been kept for a length of time generally leaves behind it. Nobody present had a doubt of its being blood; and it appears from Mr. Herbert's

to linen, which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance ; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture ; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head, it was more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends, soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king. On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably ; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance, transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided

Narrative, that the king was embalmed immediately after decapitation. It is probable, therefore, that the large blood-vessels continued to empty themselves for some time afterwards. I am aware, that some of the softer parts of the human body, and particularly the brain, undergo, in the course of time, a decomposition, and will melt. A liquid, therefore, might be found after long interment, where solids only had been buried : but the weight of the head, in this instance, gave no suspicion that the brain had lost its substance ; and no moisture appeared in any other part of the coffin, as far as we could see, excepting at the back part of the head and neck."

portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First. After this examination of the head, which served every purpose in view, and without examining the body below the neck, it was immediately restored to its situation, the coffin was soldered up again, and the vault closed. Neither of the other coffins had any inscription upon them. The larger one, supposed, on good grounds, to contain the remains of King Henry VIII., measured six feet ten inches in length, and had been inclosed in an elm one of two inches in thickness: but this was decayed, and lay in small fragments near it. The leaden coffin appeared to have been beaten in by violence about the middle; and a considerable opening in that part of it exposed a mere skeleton of the king. Some beard remained upon the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it. The smaller coffin, understood to be that of Queen Jane Seymour, was not touched; mere curiosity not being considered, by the prince regent, as a sufficient motive for disturbing these remains. On examining the vault with some attention, it was found that the wall at the west end had, at some period or other, been partly pulled down and repaired again, not by regular masonry, but by fragments of stones and bricks, put rudely and hastily together without

cement. From Lord Clarendon's account, as well as from Mr. Herbert's narrative of the interment of King Charles, it is to be inferred, that the ceremony was a very hasty one, performed in the presence of the governor, who had refused to allow the service according to the Book of Common Prayer to be used on the occasion; and had, probably, scarcely admitted the time necessary for a decent deposit of the body. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the coffin of King Henry VIII. had been injured by a precipitate introduction of the coffin of King Charles; and that the governor was not under the influence of feelings, in those times, which gave him any concern about royal remains, or the vault which contained them."

LETTERS RELATIVE TO KING CHARLES I.*

A COPY of a letter from Sir THOMAS HERBERT to Dr. Samways, and by him sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sandcroft; referred to in page 524, l. 73. of Vol. ii. of *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, edit. 1692; and in page 701, l. 39, of the same Vol. edit. 1721; found in a copy of that book, lately in the hands of the Lord Viscount Preston.

" SIR, " Y[ork], 28 Aug. 1680.

“ After his late Majesty’s remove from Windsor to St. James’s, albeit according to the duty

* Transcribed from a copy in the library of the Royal Institution.

of my place, I lay in the next room to the bed-chamber; the king then commanded to bring my pallat into his chamber, which I accordingly did, the night before that sorrowful day. He ordered what clothes he would wear, intending that day to be as neat as could be, it being (as he called it,) his wedding-day, and having a great work to do (meaning his preparation for eternity,) said, he would be stirring much earlier than he used.

For some hours his Majesty slept very soundly; for my part I was so full of anguish and grief, that I took little rest. The King, some hours before day, drew his bed-curtain to awaken me, and could, by the light of the wax lamp, perceive me troubled in my sleep. The King rose forthwith; and as I was making him ready, Herbert, (said the King,) I would know why you were disquieted in your sleep? I replied, may it please your Majesty, I was in a dream.—What was your dream? said the King; I would hear it. May it please your Majesty, said I, I dreamed, that as you were making ready, one knocked at the bed-chamber door, which your Majesty took no notice of, nor was I willing to acquaint you with it, apprehending it might be Colonel Hacker. But knocking the second time, your Majesty asked me, if I heard it not? I said, I did; but did not use to go without his order. Why then go, know who it is, and his business. Whereupon I opened the door, and perceived that it was the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr.

Laud, in his pontifical habit, as worn at court ; I knew him, having seen him often. The Archbishop desired he might enter, having something to say to the King. I acquainted your Majesty with his desire ; so you bade me let him in. Being let in, he made his obeysance to your Majesty in the middle of the room, doing the like also when he came near your person ; and, falling on his knees, your Majesty gave him your hand to kiss, and took him aside to the window, where some discourse passed between your Majesty and him, and I kept a becoming distance, not hearing any thing that was said, yet could perceive your Majesty pensive by your looks, and that the Archbishop gave a sigh ; who, after a short stay, again kissing your hand, returned with face all the way towards your Majesty, and making his usual reverences, the third being so submiss, as he fell prostrate on his face on the ground, and I immediately stept to help him up, which I was then acting, when your Majesty saw me troubled in my sleep. The impression was so lively that I looked about, verily thinking it was no dream.

“ The King said, my dream was remarkable, but he is dead ; yet, had we conferred together during life, 'tis very likely, (albeit I loved him well,) I should have said something to him that might have occasioned his sigh.

“ Soon after I had told my dream, Dr. Juxon, then Bishop of London, came to the King, as I re-

late in that narrative I sent Sir William Dugdale, which I have a transcript of, here; nor know whether it rests with the Archbishop of Canterbury or Sir William, or be disposed of in Sir John Cotton's Library near Westminster-hall; but wish you had the perusal of it before your return into the north. And this being not communicated to any but yourself, you may shew it to his Grace, and none else, as you promised.

“ Sir, your very affectioned friend and servant,

“ THO. HERBERT.

“ Sent to me by Dr. RAWLINSON, 24 Feb. 1729. T. C [ARTER].

Memorable transaction between KING CHARLES II. while in Exile, and GEORGE DOWNING, ESQ., Ambassador from OLIVER CROMWELL to the UNITED PROVINCES; drawn up by MR. LOCKHART, Author of the Memoirs of SCOTLAND.

It is very strange, that amongst so many dangers to which King Charles the Second was exposed, and from which he was surprisingly and miraculously delivered, neither Lord Clarendon, nor any other author I have met with, takes the least notice of one of a very extraordinary nature, which happened to him at Holland, and was as follows:—

The King, when at Brussels, being desirous and resolved to see his sister the Princess of Orange, but withal under a necessity to make the journey

with the utmost secrecy, did communicate his design to no person whatsoever. He ordered Fleming, a servant of the Earl of Wigton, who was in his service, and of whose fidelity he neither then nor ever after did doubt, secretly to provide a good couple of horses, and have them ready at a certain place and time of the next ensuing night by his Majesty appointed; that Fleming with these horses should remain alone, till he heard from the King. At the time appointed the King, (having gone to bed, and afterwards dressed himself, and privately gone out at a back door, and leaving only a letter to some one of his servants in whom he confided, with an account of his having gone from thence for a few days, and with directions to keep his absence as secret as possible, under pretence of being indisposed, came to the place, where he met Fleming with the horses, as he had directed. He then acquainted Fleming of his design to see his sister at the Hague, and not regarding the hazards he might be exposed to, away he went with this slender equipage and attendance, travelling through the most secret bye-ways, and contriving it so, that he came to the Hague by six in the morning, and alighted at a scrub inn in a remote part of the town, where he was confident none would know him, under the disguise he was then in. He immediately sent Fleming to acquaint his sister where he was, and to leave it to her to contrive the way and manner of having access to her, so as not to be known. Fleming having dis-

patched his commission in a very short time, (in less than an hour,) was no sooner returned to the King, whom he found in the room where he had left him, and where he had been still alone, than an unknown person came and asked of the landlord, if two Frenchmen had not alighted at his house that morning. The landlord replied, that indeed two men had come, but of what country he knew not. The stranger desired him to tell them that he wanted to speak with them; which he having done, the King was much surprised, but withal inclined to see the person. Fleming opposed it, but the King being positive, the person was introduced, being an old reverend-like man, with a long grey-beard, and ordinary grey clothes, who looking and speaking to the King, told him he was the person he wanted to speak to, and that alone on matters of importance. The King, believing it might be perhaps a return from his sister, or being curious to know the result of such an adventure, desired Fleming to withdraw, which he refused, till the King taking him aside, told him there could be no hazard from such an old man, for whom he was too much, and commanded him to retire. They were no sooner alone than the stranger bolted the door, (which brought the King to think on what might or would happen,) and at the same time falling down on his knees, pulled off his very nice and artificial mask, and discovered himself to be Mr. Downing, (afterwards well known by the name of Sir George, and ambassador from the

King to the States after his restoration,) then envoy or ambassador from Cromwell to the States ; being the son of one Downing, an independent minister, who attended some of the Parliament-men, who were once sent to Scotland to treat with the Scots to join against the King, and was a very active virulent enemy to the Royal Family, as appears from Lord Clarendon's History. The King, you may easily imagine, was a little surprised at the discovery ; but Downing gave him no time for reflection, having immediately spoken to him in the following manner:—That he hoped his Majesty would pardon him for any share he had acted during the rebellion against his royal interest, and assured him, that though he was just now in the service of the usurper, he wished his Majesty as well as any of his subjects, and would, when an occasion offered, venture all for his service, and was hopeful what he was about to say, would convince his Majesty of his sincerity. But before he mentioned the cause of his coming to him, he must insist that his Majesty would solemnly promise him, not to mention what had happened, either to Fleming, or any other person whatsoever, till it pleased God to restore his Majesty to his crown, when he said he should not desire it to be concealed, though even then he must likewise have his Majesty's promise not to ask him, or expect he should discover, how or when he came to know of his being there. The King having solemnly protested, and

engaged on the terms required, Downing proceeded and told him, That his master, the usurper, being now at peace with the Dutch, and the States so dependant and obsequious to him, that they refused nothing he desired, had, with the greatest secrecy, in order to make it more effectual, entered into a treaty, by which, among other trifling matters agreed to, ‘ *hinc inde*, the chief and indeed main end of the negociation was, that the States stood engaged to seize and deliver up to the usurper the person of his Majesty, if so be at any time he should happen by chance to design to come within their territories, when required thereto by any in his name ; and that this treaty having been signed by the States, was sent to London, from whence it had returned but yesterday morning, and totally finished yesterday night, betwixt him and a secret committee of the States. He represented his master's intelligence to be so good, that a discovery would be made even to himself (Downing,) of his Majesty being there ; and if he neglected to apply to have him seized, his master would resent it to the highest, which would infallibly cost him his head, and deprive his Majesty of a faithful servant. And being desirous to prevent the miserable consequences of what would follow, if his being there was discovered, he resolved to communicate the danger he was in, and for fear of a discovery he had disguised himself, being resolved to trust no person with the secret. He then proposed

that his Majesty would immediately mount his horses, and make all the dispatch imaginable out of the States' territories ; that he himself would return home, and under pretence of sickness, lie longer a-bed than usual, and that when he thought his Majesty was so far off, as to be out of danger to be overtaken, he would go to the States and acquaint them, that he understood his Majesty was in town, and require his being seized on the terms of the late treaty ; that he knew they would comply and send to the place directed, but on finding his Majesty was gone off so far as to be safe, he would propose to make no further noise about it, lest it should discover the treaty, and prevent his Majesty falling afterwards into their hands. The King immediately followed his advice, and he returning home, every thing was acted and happened as he proposed and foretold. The King having thus escaped this imminent danger, most religiously performed what he had promised, never mentioning any part of this history till after his restoration, and not then desiring to know how Downing's intelligence came, (which he never discovered,) though he (the King,) often said it was a mystery. For no person knew of his design till he was on horseback, and that he could not think Fleming went and discovered him to Downing ; beside, he so soon returned from his sister, he could not have time ; Downing having come much about the time Fleming returned.

This story was told by several who frequented King Charles's court, particularly by the Earl of Cromartie, who said the next year after the restoration, he, with the Duke of Rothes, and several other Scots of quality, being one night with the King over a bottle, they all complained of an impertinent speech Downing had made in parliament, reflecting on the Scots nation, which they thought his Majesty should resent, so as to discard him from court, and withdraw his favours from him. The King replied, he did not approve of what he had said, and would reprove him for it; but to go farther he could not well do, because of this story, which he repeated in the terms here narrated, which made such an impression on all present, that they freely forgave what had past; and Rothes asked liberty to begin his health in a bumper.

LETTERS FROM KING JAMES.

(From Nicolas' life of William Davidson, secretary of state, and privy counsellor.)

WILLIAM DAVIDSON, of whose origin nothing is known, and whose name and posterity have vanished from the face of the earth, as if Providence had specially ordered it so to mark the punishment of his guilt, has, after a lapse of two centuries, found an advocate in the author of his life.

Except as connected with the history of Elizabeth, it were worthless to enquire whether this man acted the willing tool, or read-service villain, or

both ; whether he was the too forward agent of murder, or the sacrifice of higher crime. His vindication touches us not, even had it been established.

From several circumstances, and particularly from his writing on Scottish genealogies, it is probable that Davidson was a Scotchman of obscure parentage. How he rose to office does not appear, but if we look at his later conduct, we may, (even in charity,) presume of his earlier advancements, conscientious scruples about the means did not interfere to check the exercise of those abilities which led to the end. The author, in his over-zeal to absolve Davidson, has done some service to letters, by bringing forward, from the British Museum and other sources, several manuscripts of considerable interest. Among these are Davidson's will, narratives of what passed between him and the Queen, relative to the warrant for Mary's execution ; letters from Essex and others, of his celebrated cotemporaries ; and the following important document, — a letter from King James to Archibald Douglass, on the subject of his mother's condemnation. From these we gather the particulars of that act of collusion, infamy and murder, which was perpetrated by Elizabeth, and the base unfeeling statesmen who surrounded her ; and it is some satisfaction to observe a more convincing proof than any hitherto published, that James was no party to, but, on the contrary, a strenuous op-

poser of this iniquitous deed. While the wary secretary only preferred the ostensibly legal assassination at Fotheringay, for which he did not expect to be made responsible, to the deep diminution of that secret taking off, for which Elizabeth was so anxious, and which would infallibly have been visited upon the head of its immediate agents, as scape-goats for royalty, the king of Scotland interfered with all the ardour of filial piety, to save his devoted parent.

The following are literal copies of his letters, made from the originals, &c.

“ *To Maister Archibald Douglass.*

“ *October, 1586.*

“ Reserve up youreself na longer in the earnist dealing for my mother, for you have done it to long, and thinke not that any youre travells can do goode, if hir lyfe be taikin, for then adieu with my dealings with thaime that are the speciall instrumentis thair of, and thairfore gif ye look for the contineuance of my favoure towardis you, spaire na painis nor plainnes in this cace, bot reid my letter wretten to William Keith, and conforme youreself quhollie to the contentis thair of, and in this request lett me reape the fruietis of youre great credit thaire, ather now or never, fairwell.

“ JAMES R.”

“ *A Madame ma tres chere sœur et cousine la royne d'Angleterre.*

“ Madame, and dearest sister, if ye could have

knouin quhat divers thochtis have agitat my mynde since my directing of William Keith unto you, for the sollisting of this matter quhairto nature and honor so greatly and unfeynedly bindis and obleissis me ; If, I say, ye kneu what dyvers thochtis I have bene in, and what iust greif I hadd ueying deeply the thing itself, if so it should proceed, as godd forbidd, quhat eventis nicht follou thairupon, quhat number of straitis I uold be drevin unto, &, amongst the rest, hou it nicht perrell my reputation amongst my subiects if thaise thingis, I yett say againe, uayre knouin unto you, then doubt I not but ye wold so farr pitie my cace, as it wold easely mak you at the first to resolve your ouin [mind] best unto it. I doubt greatlie in quhat facon to writt in this purpois, for ye have allreaddie taken sa evill with my playnness, as I feare if I shall persist in that course ye shall rather be exasperattit to passionis in reading the wordis then by the plainness thairof be persuadit to consider richtlie the simple treuth, yett iustlie prefferring the deutie of ane honest friend to the suddaine passionis of one, quho hou soone they be past can uyslier uey, the reasonis then I can sett them doune. I have resolvid in feu uordis & plaine, to gif you freindly and best advyce, appealing to youre rypest judgement to discerne thairupon : quhat thing, Madame, can greatlier touche me in honoure that both is a kinge & a sonne, then that my nearest neighbour, being in straittest freindshipp with me, shall rigouruslie

putt to death a free souveraigne prince, & my naturall mother, alyke in estaite and sexe to hir that so uses hir, albeit subiect, I grant, to a harder fortune, and touching hir nearlie in proximitie of bloode ; quhat law of godd can permit that iustice shall strikke upon thaim quhom he hes appointid supream dispensatouis of the same under him, quhom he hath callid goddis, &, thairfore, subiectid to the censoure of none in earth quhose anointing by godd cannot be defyld be man unrevenge by the authoure thair of, quho being supreme & immediatt lieutenant of godd in heaven, cannot thairefoire be iudgit by thaire equallis in earth ; quat monstruouse thinge is it, that souveraigne princes thaimselfis shoulde be the exemple giveris of thaire ouen sacred diademes prophaining, then quhat shoulde move you to this forme of proceeding (supposin the worst, quhiche in goode faith I looke not for at your handis,) honoure or profite ; honoure waire it to you to spaire quhen it is least lookid for ; honoure waire it to you (quhich is not onlie my friendlie advyce but my carnist suite) to tak me & all other princes in europe eternally beholdin unto you, in granting this my so reasonable request, & not (appardon I pray you my free speaking) to putt princes to straittis of honore, quhair throuch youre generall reputation & the universal (almost) myslyking of you, may daingerouslie perrell both in honoure & utillitie your personne & estate : ye knou, Madame, uell aneuch hou small difference cicero con-

cludis to be betwixt utile & honestum in his discourse thair of, and quhiche of thaim ought to be framed to the other; & nou, Madame, to conclud, I pray you so to uey thir feu argumentis, that as I ever presumed of youre nature, so the quhole worlde may praise your subiectis for thair deuti-full caire for youre preservation, & youreself for youre princilie pittie, the doing quhair of onlie belangis unto you, the parforming quhair of onlie apparteynis unto you, and the praise thair of onlie will ever be youris: respect then goode sister, this my first so long continueid & so earnist request, dispatching my ambassadonis with suche a comfortable ansoure as may become your persone to give, & as my loving & honest hairt unto you merit to ressave; but in kaice any do vaunt thaimselfis to know further of my mynde in this matter, then my ambassadouis do, quho indeed are fullie aquentid thairwith. I pray you not to takk me to a cameleon, but by the contrairie, thaim to be maliciouse imposteuris as suirly they are; and thus praying you hairtly to excuse my to ruide and longsum lettir, I commit you, madame, and dear sister, to the blessed protection of the most hie, quho mott give you grace so to resolve in this maiter, as may be honorabill for you, and most acceptable to him: from my palleis, of holirudhouse, the 26 day of Januarie, 1586. — Your most loving and affectionate brother & cousin, “JAMES R.”

Having quoted these honourable testimonies to the feelings of James, we shall abstain from broach-

ing any of the foul practices under which the unfortunate Mary fell. For Davidson, who at last fell into his own snare, and committing himself more than his crafty compeers, thus incurred alone that disgrace and punishment which all deserved, we feel neither regard nor compassion.

After his release from the Tower, Davidson lived in privacy at Stepney, where he died at an advanced age in December, 1608, and was buried without a memorial.

EXTRACTS FROM CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES OF SCOTTISH
AFFAIRS FROM 1680 TO 1701, TAKEN FROM THE
DIARY OF LORD FOUNTAINHALL *.

“THE duke of York took leave of his brother, king Charles II. the 20th of October, 1680, at Woolwich on the Thames, and after a great storm, landed at Kirkaldie the 26th ditto, with his dutch-

* This work was published in the limited edition only of an hundred and twenty copies. It is not, however, a work that called for a large impression, as it consists merely of memoranda which might serve for notes to the history of a period as well known as any in the annals of Britain, or for help to an author describing the manners of the age, by furnishing him with characteristic facts and data.

The original MS. of the volume is preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is from the pen of Sir John Lauder, a distinguished judge of the court of session, called, in courtesy to that station, Lord Fountainhall, of whom, says the Introduction, “it is only necessary to observe, that he was a constant, close, and singularly impartial observer of the remarkable events of his time; and, while his rank and character gave him access to the best information, he displayed much shrewdness in digesting it, and appears

ess. There after he went to Leslie till the 29th ditto, frae thence to Holyrood house, thence went and saw Edinburgh Castle, where the great cannon called Monns Megg being charged, burst in her off-going, which was taken as a bad omen.

A Mr. William Wishart, minister at Wells in Annan, turned popish.

“It is observed in England, that in the space of twenty years, the English changed oftener their religion, than all Chistendom had for 1500 years; for they made four mutations from 1540 to 1560. King Henry VIII. abolished the Pope’s supremacy, suppressed abbeys, but retains the bulk of the popish religion; his son, king Edward, brings in the protestant religion; queen Mary throws it out: but queen Elizabeth brings it in again.

Anecdote of Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh.

“The presbyterian lampoons upbraid him as a profligate and loose liver. See the answer to presbyterian eloquence, where there is much ribaldry on this subject. He is said to have kissed the band strings in the pulpit, in the midst of an eloquent discourse, which was the signal agreed upon betwixt him and a lady to whom he was a suitor, to shew he could think upon her charms even whilst to have had the habit of committing most remarkable particulars to writing.”

“It is a subject of regret, that the diary, after the death of its writer, fell into the hands of a Mr. Milne, as sturdy a jacobite as Lord F. was a steady friend to the Revolution; and this gentleman corrupted it by interpretations and erasures so that some difficulty occurs in distinguishing the title from the glosses.”—*Lit. Gazette.*

engaged in the most solemn duties of his profession. Hence he was nick-named bishop band-strings."

The death of King Charles is described in the following concise but simple and affecting manner.

" King Charles II. dyed peaciblie on fryday, at twelve o'clock of the day, 6th of February 1685, haveing taken the sacrament before from Dr. Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells. On the second of February he had a strong fit of convulsion, but afterward, being recovered a little, he called his brother and craved him pardon, if ever he had offended him, and recommended him the care of his queen and children, and delyvered him some papers, and entreated him to maintain the protestant religion. The queen being unwell, was not able to attend him, but sent to ask his pardon wherein she had ever offended him : he said, ah, poor Kat, many a time have I wronged her, but she never did me any. He dyed most composedlie, regrating the trouble his friends had been at in attending him. He was certainly a prince (whose only weak side was to be carried away with women, which had wasted his body, being only fifty-five years old when he dyed) endued with many royal qualities, of whom the Divine providence had taken speciale care ; witness his miraculous escape at Worcester battle ; his treatment in the royal oak, when thousands were rummaging the fields in quest of him ; his restoration being without one drop of blood-shed, so that the Turkish emperor said, that if he were to change his religion, he would only do it for that of

the king of Great Britain's God, who had done such wonderful things for him. His clemencie was admirable; witness his sparing two of Cromwell's sons, one of whom had usurped his throne. His firmness in religion was evident, for in his banishment, great offers were made to restore him, if he would turn Papist, which he altogether slighted. A star appeared at noon on his birth-day. He was a great mathematician, chemist, and mechanick, and wrought often in the laboratorie himself; and he had ane natural mildness and command over his anger, which never transported him beyond ane innocent puff and spitting, and was soon over, and yet commanded more deference from his people than if he had exprest it more severely, so great respect had all persons to him. He was buried the 14th September 1685, privatilie in king Henry the seventh, his chapell, Westminster, the prince of Denmark being chief mourner, having desired to be buried privatelie.

Royal Injunction.

“King James ordered the dutches of Portsmouth [not] to leave England till she paid all her debts, because she was transporting 50,000/. sterling in gold and jewels, which was seized by the collectors of the customes.”

Costly Coronation of Queen Mary.

“Queen Mary, wife of king James the seventh, was not crowned with the imperial crown of England, but there was a new one of gold made on purpose for her, worth 300,000/. sterling, and the

jewels she had on her were reckoned to a million, which made her shine like an angel; and all the peeresses were richly attired, with their coronets on their heads. The king and she both were crowned 23d April, 1685, being St. George's day.

Nota.—The crown of Scotland is not the ancient one, but was casten of new by king James the fifth. There was a poem made on the coronation by Elkena Setle, formerly the poet of the whigs, wherein he mentions Gibby Burnett's reforming pupills, as Shaftsberre, Essex, and Russell, to be gnashing their teeth in hell, at the news of king James's coronation."

Political State of Scotland.

"The state of parties in Scotland, the clashing of personal and political interests; the barbarous tortures and their executions of their opponents as the different sides prevailed; the ramifications of the Ryehouse plot into this country; the conflicts of episcopacy, presbyterianism; and popery; besides private concerns, form many of the illustrative paragraphs of our miscellaneous record. For example, in 1684."

A Drunken Parson fined.

"Mr. Hunter, second minister of Stirling, staged for drunkenness, in spewing after he had tane the sacrament. Kennedy, provost of Stirling, and Mr. Munro, the first minister, wer his accusers, 9th of April 1684. He efter turned a buckle-beggars* ;

* A bucke-beggars is one who marries without license or enquiry whatsoever couple present themselves.

and wes suppedit, if not depryued by the bishop therefoir ; and married in his old age, a daughter of Anne Stevenson, at gardener at Habaye-hall."

The torture of the Boots and Thumbikin, &c.

" Mr. William Spence, late servant to Argyle, is tortured by boots, to force him to reveal what he knows of the earle's and others accession to the late English fanatic, Platt, and a design of rebellion ; and in regard that he refused to depose if he had the key whereby he could read some letters of the earle's, produced by Major Holmes, in cypher ; and seeing he would not depone that he could not read them, and that they offered him a remission ; it rendered him very obnoxious, and suspect of prevarication, so that after the torture he was put in General Dalyell's hands ; and it was reported, that by a hair shirt and prieking (as the witches are used), he was five nights kept frae sleep, till turned half distracted ; but he eat very little, on purpose that he might require less sleep ; yet never discovered any thing, 26th July, *et diebus sequentibus*, 1684." - - -

" Mr. Spence, Argyle's servant, is again tortured with the thumbikins, a new invention, and discovered by Generals Dalyell and Drummond, who saw them used in Muscovy ; and when he heard they were to put him in boots again, being frightened therewith, desired time, and he would declare what he knew ; whereupon they gave him

some time, and sequestrat him in Edinburgh Castle, 6th August, 1684." - - -

" Mr. William Spence, to avoid further torture, desyphered Argyle's letters, and agrees with Holmes' declaration, that Argyle and Loudon, Dalrymple of Stairs, Sir John Cochran, and others, had formed a design to raise rebellion in Scotland; and that there were three keys to the said letters, whereof he and Mr. Carstairs had two, and Holmes a third; and he approved of Gray of Crichton, after Lord Gray, his explanation of the said letters; and Campbell of Arkinlass was apprehended by the Laird of M'Naughten. Spence got the liberty of the castle, and recommended for a remission. And Gordon of Earlston was sent for from the Bass, to be tortured and confronted with Spence, and the counsel resolved not to admitt of his madness for ane excuse, (which they esteemed simulat,) as Chancellor Gordon had done, August 22." - - -

' Mr. William Carstairs, son of Mr. John Carstairs, minister at Glasgow, brought before the secret committie of councill, and tortured with the thumbikins*, whereon he confessed, there had

* Afterwards principal (or, as he was jocularly called, cardinal) Carstairs. The magistrates, after the Revolution, made him a present of the instrument with which he had been tortured, of which there is a print in Constable's Edinburgh Magazine for August 1817. Tradition says, that Carstairs exhibited this engine to King William, who requested to experience its power. The divine turned the screw with the delicacy that might be expected when a clergy-

been a current plot in Scotland for ten years, and that some were for riseing in rebellion, others for associating with the English for keeping out [the] Duke of York, and to preserve [the] Protestant religion.' - - -

Torture opposed by the Duke of Hamilton.

' Duke of Hamilton opposed torturings, alleadging, at this rate, they might, without accusers or witnesses, take any person of the street and torture; and he retired, and refused to be present, on this ground, that if the party should die in the torture, the judges were lyable for murder, or at least, severly answerable.' - - -

Execution of Rumbold, the projector of the Ryehouse Plot.

' Phisitians having given in their verdict, that Mr. Rumbold was in hazard of death by his wounds, the council ordained the justice court to sit on him to-morrow, 25th June, 1685; and 26th he was tryed, and charged with a design to murder the late king at Ryhous, in April 1683, which he positively denied thatt [was] sworn against him in England; yet the advocat past frae that, least it should have disparaged the credit of the English plott; and insisted on his associating with Argyle,

man squeezes the thumbs of a monarch. William, feeling no great pain, upbraided the principal with pusillanimity in giving way under such a slight compulsitor; when Carstairs, giving the screw an effectual turn, compelled the king to roar for mercy, and to confess, that under such an infliction a man might confess any thing. I have a fac-simile of this dire implement.

and invading Scotland; and that he was with Campbell of Arkinlass, against the Athol men, where two or three of them were killed, which he confessed. And being asked if he was ane of the masked executioners that were on the scaffold at the murder of King Charles the First, denied it; but that he was one of Cromwell's regiment then, and was on horseback at Whitehall that day, as one of the guard about the scaffold. And that he was at Dunbar, Worcester, and Dundee, a lieutenant in Cromwell's armie. He said Sir James Steuart, advocat, told them all would be ruined by Argyle's lingering in the Highlands, and not marching presently to Galloway, &c. And being asked, if he owned his majesty's authority, he craved leave to be excused, seeing he needed neither offend them nor grate his own conscience, for they had enough to take his life; besides, his rooted opinion was for a republic against monarchie; to pull down which he thought it a duty, and no sin; and on the scaffold began to pray for that party, but was interrupted; and said, if every hair in his head were a man, he would venture them all in that quarrell; he otherwayes behaved discreetly enough, and heard the ministers, but took none of them to the scaffold. He was drawn in a hurdle thereto, thence hoysed up a little in the gallows by a pully, and hanged a while, and let down not fullie dead, his breast ript up, and his heart pulled out and throwen in the fire; then his head was struke off,

and his body cutt in four quarters, and ordered to be affixed att Glasgow, Dumfries, New Galloway, and Jedburgh, and his head to be affixt on the West Port of Edinburgh; but therafter wer, by order from the king, sent to England, to be affixt at London, wher he was best known. The order came to Scotland 3d August, 1685.—*Nota*, he was tryet 25th, and execute 26th June, 1865.'

Punishment for 'mincing the king's authoritie,' &c.—A drummer shot at Leith, for speaking against the Papists.—A fencing master hanged, &c.

'Some of the common prisoners that came with Argyle, are given by the counsell to Scot of Pitlochrie and others, for the plantations. But some of them was more perverse than others, in mincing the king's authoritie, to the number of forty, ordered to have a peece of their lugg cut off; and the women disowning the king, to be brunt in the shoulder, that if any of them return, they might be known thereby, and hanged. 5th August, 1685.' - - -

'A drummer shot in Leith (for saying he could run his sword through all the Papists) by martial law; though he denyed the words, yet declared he would not redeem his life by turning Papist, 23d February 1686. Witnesses were Irvine of Bonshaw, &c., who falling out, called one another perjured.' - - -

'A fenceing-master, condemned to be hanged by criminal court, for uttering words approveing

the late rabble. It was proven that he said, if the trades' lads would fall on the town guard, he should secure their captain, Patrick Graine, for his part; and for drinking the confusion of Papists, though at the same time he drank the king's health; yet the chancellor was inexorable, and beat his own son for pleading for him, (and this was called to remembrance, when the chancellor himself was taken and maltreated by Captain Boswall, in Kirkaldie, who took him by sea when making his escape to France, after the Usurpation in 1688,) and so he was hanged on 5th March, 1686, and died piously. He was dealt with to accuse Queensberry with accession to the rabble, but refused *.' - - -

'There being a band given in to Mackenzies' chamber, to one Douglas, to registrar; and he having given up the principall to one Weddel, the granter, and given the pursuer an extract, they were both pillored, and had their lugs nailed to Trone, 27th March, 1685; and Weddel warded, till he pay the debt.' - - -

The Chancellor, Theasaurer, and Ross, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, come from London to Edinburgh, 8th April, 1685, haveing been only eight dayes by the way; and the councill ordered the shiles wherthrow the chancellor was to pass, to attend him.' - - -

'The late king's statute on horseback was set

* Were not men more firm and stubborn a century and a half ago than they are now? We much question that conscientious motives would carry many to such extremes in our time.

up in the Parliament-Closs, 16th April, 1685. It stood the town of Edinburgh more than 1000*l*. sterling.' - - -

'The fire-cross, by order of councill, is sent through the west of Fife and Kinross, as nearest Stirling, that all betwixt sixteen and sixty might rise and oppose Argyle, 9th June*. - - -

'George Drummond, Provost of Edinburgh, breaks, and goes to the abbey; he was the first provost that brok: during his office, there was complaints against him for meddling with the town's common good.' - - -

'Anderson's Pills.—Thomas Weir got a signator for selling thereof, and ane Thomas Steell gives in a bill against him, as having the only secret thereof: but Weir having given Melfort talents, is preferred. 21st July, 1687.' - - -

'A mountebank having got licence from the Privy

* 'Here is a remarkable instance (perhaps the latest) of the fire-cross having been sent round by command of government. In his Account of Somerset's Expedition, Paten thus describes it. 'And thys is a crosse (as I haue hard sum say) of ii brandes endes, eared a crosse vpon a spears point, with proclamation of the time and place whan and whither they shall cum, and with how much provision of vitail. Some others say, it is a cros, painted all red, and set for certayn dayes in the felde of that baronrie, whereof they will haue they people too cum: whearby, all between sixty and sixteen are peremptorily summoned: that if they cum not wyth their vitayll according at the tyme and place then appointed, all the land thear is forfeited straight to the Kynges vse, and the tariers taken for traitours and rebels.'—*Vide Patten's Account of the Expedition into Scotlande of the most Worthely Fortunate Prince Edward, Duke of Soomerset, preface, p. xii.*

Councill, and of Mr. Fountin, Master of the Revells, and of the Magistrats of Edinburgh, to erect a stage, he built it in Blackfryer-Wind. The Custome-Office being there, compleaned of it to the magistrates, whereupon the magistrates took it down; whereupon he cited them to the councill, who alleadge he should have first been examined by the Colledge of Physitians; yet they offered him the Grass-mercate, for preventing servants and prentices withdrawing from their service; but he being Popish, the Chancellor caused the magistrates to put his stage in the Land-mercate. He craved also damages. 14th July, 1688*.

* In the printed Decisions of Lord Fountainhall, occurs the following sly entry concerning this fellow:

‘Reid, the mountebank, pursues Scott of Harden and his lady, for stealing away from him a little girl, called the Tumbling-lassie, that danced upon his stage; and he claimed damages, and produced a contract, whereby he bought her from her mother for 30*l.* Scots. But we have no slaves in Scotland, and mothers cannot sell their bairns; and physicians attested the employment of tumbling would kill her; and her joints were now grown stiff, and she declined to return, though she was at least a prentice, and so could not run away from her master. Yet some cited Moses’s law, that if a servant shelter himself with thee against his master’s cruelty, thou shalt not deliver him up. The lords *renitente Cancellario* assoilzied Harden.’—*Fountainhall’s Decisions*, vol. I. p. 429.

And the following account is given of his conversion, and of the importance attached to it by the silly bigotry of Perth, and the other courtiers and statesmen of James II. :—

‘January 17, 1687, Reid, the mountebank, is received into the Popish Church, and one of his blackamores was persuaded to accept of baptism from the Popish priests, and to turn Christian Papist, which was a great trophy. He was called James, after the King, and Chancellor, and the Apostle James.—*Ibid.* p. 4.

SOME PARTICULARS OF THE CATESBY RACE, OF
CRANFORD MANOR *.

(*From Baker's History and Antiquities of the County
of Northampton.*)

' JOHN DE CATESBY, of Ladbroke, in Warwickshire, one of the commissioners appointed in that county for the suppression of unlawful assemblies in the reign of Ric. II. In 13 Hen. IV. (1411-12), his widow, and John de Catesby, her son, obtained a grant of free warren in their demesne lands of Rodburne, Ladbroke, and Shuckburgh, in Warwickshire, and ' Assheby leger,' Welton, and Watford, in this county. Sir William Catesby, grandson of John, in conjunction with Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Viscount Lovell, formed the triumvirate which gave rise to the memorable distich—

' The Rat, the Cat, and Lovell our dog,
Rule all England under the hog ;'

alluding to King Richard III. having adopted a boar for one of his supporters. For this poetical libel, Collingbourn, the author, was ' hanged, headed, and quartered,' on Tower-hill. Catesby is charged with ungratefully deserting or betraying his early patron, Lord Hastings, to whose friendship he owed his introduction to the usurper, who in the first year of his reign constituted him esquire of the body, chancellor and chamberlain of the

* The Catesbys, for a private family, seem to have figured extraordinarily in our national history.

exchequer for life, and chancellor of the marches of Wales. He obtained grants also of various forfeited manors and lucrative wardships; and, amongst other local appointments, was steward of the manors in this county belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, master forester of Rockingham, 'justice' of Whittlebury forest, and joint constable, with Viscount Lovell, of Rockingham Castle. He was well versed in the law of the land, and is said to have made the judges shake at his displeasure. He followed the fortunes of his royal master to the fatal field of Bosworth, where he was taken prisoner, and three days afterwards beheaded, at Leicester. On the morning of his execution he made a will, in which the following are passages. 'This is the will of William Catesby, Esq., made the xxvth August, 1 Hen. VII., to be executed by my dere and wellbeloved wife, to whom I have ever been trew of my body, putting my sole trust in her for the executing thereof for the helth of my soul, the which I am undoubted she will execute; and for my body, when she may, to be beryed in the church of St. Leger, in Aisby, and to do such memoriall for me as I have appointed by for, and to restore all lands that I have wrongfully purchased, and to pay the residue of such land as I have bought truly, and to demene hit among her children and myne as she thynketh good after her discretion. I doubt not the king will be good and gracious lord to them; for he is called a full gracious prince, and

I never offended him by my good and free will ; for God I take to my Judge I have ever loved him.'—[Here he mentions the lands, &c., to be returned, and addressing his wife, adds]—‘ my speciall trust is in your mistress Margarete ; and I heartily cry your mercy if I have deyled uncurteously with you ; and ever pray you to live sole, all the deys of yowr life to do for my soul. And I pray my Lord of Winchester, my Lord of Worcester, my Lord of London, to help yow to execute this my will, and they will do somewhat for me ; and that Richard Freebody have his xxli. and Badby xli. or the lande at Evertons and the xli. and pray you in every place see cleerness in my soul, and pray fast, and I shall for you ; and Jesu have mercy on my soule, Amen. My Lords Stanley, Strange, and all that blood helpe, and pray for my soule, for ye have not for my body as I trusted in yow : and if my issue rejoyce my land, I pray you let Mr. John Elton have the best benefice : and my Lord Lovell come to grace, then that ye shew to him that he pray for me. And uncle John remember my soule, as ye have done my body, and better ; and I pray you see the sadler Hartlington be paied, and in all other places.’

Attainted of treason, his lands were forfeited, and passed into the possession of Sir James Blount and Sir David Owen, but were recovered in about ten years by his son George. Robert Catesby, the conspirator, was great great grandson of this John de

Catesby, and 'damned to everlasting fame' as the projector of the Gunpowder Treason. His father had been tried for harbouring the Jesuits, and in his two sons, William and Robert, the family, whose root was Simon de Catesby (younger brother of Philip de Esseby, founder of Catesby Priory) steward to Randle Gernon, Earl of Chester, in the time of Henry I. and Stephen, became extinct.

Respecting Holdenby, or Holmby, in Newbottle Grove hundred, we find it remarked, as a striking fact, and one which 'deserves to be recorded on the bead roll of Northamptonshire fame, that during the brilliant reign of Elizabeth, this country furnished the lord treasurer, and prime minister, Cecil, Lord Burleigh, of Burleigh; the lord chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, of Holdenby and Kirby; the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, of Apethorp; and the speaker of the house of Commons, Sir Christopher Yelverton, of Easton Mauduit.'

Having no room here for any account of the Martyr King's imprisonment in Holdenby, we select, by way of appendix, four of the most curious epitaphs, in Great Billing, on a brass plate on a slab:

Justinian Bracegirdle underneath this stone
Hath left his pawne of resurrection.
Who foure and fifty winters did afforde
This flocke the pasture of God's heavenly word,
And all his life time did employ his care

See to growe rich to make the poore his heyre.
 Beinge charityes faythfull stewert he imparts
 Twelve hundred pounds to nourish Oxford artes;
 Then if our God to them ope heaven doore
 That give but drops of water to the poore,
 Sure his wise soule laid up a treasure there
 That nere shall rust who nqw bought Heaven so deare
 When fayth and good workes have so long contended,
 That faith is almost dead, and good works ended.

Obit. Oct. xxv. 1625.

In Brington, on Laurence Washington :

Thou that by chance or choyce
 Of this hast sight
 Know life to death resignes
 As day to night ;
 But as the sunns retorne
 Revives the day,
 So Christ shall us,
 Though turned to dust and clay.

Paulus Piercius
 sub festo Pauli
 nascente natus
 simul atque natus
 gestiuns renasci
 xv. post natum
 dentatus die
 raptim & anhelus
 ad cœlum rediit
 vii idus Februarias.

MDCLVII.

In Dallington, on a slab, July 30, 1647.

Since when in part
 Here Marie Hart

Hath fadeing lien ;
Who was before
And will much more
Be Marie Greene.

The Saxon remains are exceedingly distinct in Northamptonshire.

CURIOUS HISTORICAL PARTICULARS ILLUSTRATED.

(*From Elme's Life of Wren.*)

AFTER mentioning a mausoleum to the memory of Charles I. which was proposed but not carried into effect, Mr. E. says, A. D. 1678—

- - - " Yet the beautiful equestrian statue by Le Sœur, originally erected at Charing Cross, was this year replaced in its present situation, under the direction of Wren. The Rump parliament had previously ordered it to be sold and broken to pieces, but honest John Rivers, the brazier, who purchased it, concealed it till the restoration, and exhibited various fragments of bronze metal as proofs of his obedience. Two designs for the pedestal are in the collection at Oxford; one resembles that now standing, which is finely executed by Grinlin Gibbons, and the other somewhat differing, but with Tritons at the angles. They are both beautifully drawn."

Of the foundation of the Royal Society, *temp.* Charles II. the following is a curious anecdote :

" The royal founder himself set the society an example, in this way, that ought to preside at all

their meetings, and govern the direction of many of their members in their nomination of proposed fellows. At one of their earliest meetings, Dr. Whistler brought in a book, called ‘Natural and Political Observations upon the Bills of Mortality, by John Graunt, Citizen of London;’ and the doctor read the dedication to Sir Robert Moray, the president, by the author, who sent fifty copies of the book to be distributed among the members of the society; for which the thanks of the society were ordered to be presented to him, and he was proposed a candidate. Dr. Sprat adds, ‘that it was on the recommendation of the king himself, and so far from its being a prejudice to him, that he was a shopkeeper of London, that his majesty gave this particular charge to his society, that *if they found any more such tradesmen, they should be sure to admit them all*, without any more ado. From hence,’ says the bishop, who well knew the king’s inclinations, ‘may be concluded, what is their inclination towards the manual arts; by the careful regard which their founder and patron has engaged them to have for all sorts of mechanic arts.’ ”

The following, relative to the princes *said to be* murdered by Richard III. (though the general fact is oftentime mentioned,) may be new to many readers. (A. D. 1675.)

“ A discovery of some human exuviae, during a repair which was executing at the Tower this year, under the direction of Sir Christopher, led many

persons to believe they were the remains of the two young princes who were said to have been murdered, by smothering, in that fortress, by their uncle, Richard the Third. They were discovered about ten feet under the surface of the ground, in a wooden chest, as the workmen were taking away the stairs which led from the royal apartments into the chapel of the White Tower. Wren, through whom this discovery was communicated to the king, and without whom nothing in this way appears to have been done, was, as usual, desired to attend to it, in the following order from the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household :

“These are to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that you provide a white marble coffin, for the supposed bodies of the two princes lately found in the Tower of London ; and that you cause the same to be interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in such convenient place as the Dean of Westminster shall appoint : and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand, this 18th day of February, 1674-5.

‘ ARLINGTON.’

‘ *To Sir Christopher Wren, Knt.*

Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works.’

“In pursuance of this warrant, Sir Christopher designed an elegant urn of white marble, on a pedestal with an inscription ; which being approved by his Majesty, were erected in the east wall of the north aisle of king Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster.

HSS

Reliquiæ

Edwardi Vti, Regis Angliæ, et Richardi Ducis Eborac.

Hos fratres germanos in Arce Londinensi conclusos,

Injectisque culcitris suffocatos,

Abditè et inhonestè tumulari jussit

Patruus Richardus perfidus regni

Prædo,

Ossa desideratorum diù et multùm quæsita

Post annos CXCI.

Scalarum in ruderibus (scalæ nuper istæ ad sacellum

Turris albæ ducebant)

Altè defossa indiciis certissimis sunt reperta,

XVII. Die Julii, Anno Domini MDCLXXIII.

Carolus Secundus, Rex clementissimus, acerbam

Sortem miseratus,

Inter avita monumenta, principibus infelicissimis

Justa persolvit

Anno Domini 1678, Annoque Regni sui, 30.

These few passages, owing to the influx of new books, must suffice to show with what sort of materials Mr. Elmes has constructed this his *magnum opus*.

SKETCH OF THE ABBEY OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL,
AT SHREWSBURY.

THE great mitred abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, founded A. D. 1083, by Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, was built on the site of a timber church, erected by Siward, who exchanged with the Earl for the village of Langafielda, which Siward at his death bequeathed to the new foundation. It was peopled with Benedictine monks from

Seez, in Normandy. The Earl endowed the house largely, and encouraged all over whom he had any influence to contribute liberally. Roger himself, with the permission of his lady Adelisa, was shorn, and became a monk of his own abbey, and enriched it with the coat of St. Hugh, of the monastery of Cluni, which precious relic the Earl himself sometimes wore. The founder died in 1094, and was buried here; as was Hugh his son, slain in the Isle of Anglesey. The first abbot of this house was Fulcheredus, said to have been a man of great eloquence. Robert Pennant, the fourth abbot, obtained, with great difficulty, the reliques of St. Wenefrede, and enshrined them, which added much to the emolument of the abbey. Thomas Butler was the last abbot: he appears to have been rather a tool to the Dissolution party, by whom he was rewarded with an annuity of 80*l*. At the general Dissolution, Dr. Lee, and Masters Kendle, Harley, &c. the King's Commissioners, were sent down. They convened the abbot and monks to the chapter-house, caused some deeds to be signed with the common seal of the house, then ordered an officer to break it, and declared the convent to be dissolved. The revenues were valued by Dugdale at 532*l*. 4*s*. 10*d*. and by Speed at 656*l*. 4*s*. 3*d*. The site of the abbey, with its buildings, was purchased by E. Watson, Esq. and W. Herdson, a tanner, dealers in monastic plunder, and soon after sold to W. Langley, of Salop, tailor; and it con-

tinued in that family till 1702, since which it has been in possession of the Baldwins and Powises.

Of this once famous abbey, the present remains are small: of the chapter-house, cloister, and refectory, not a single vestige remains. The church of the abbey appears to have been spacious and magnificent, but great devastations were made at the Dissolution. The nave, western tower, and northern porch remain, under considerable mutilation; but of the choir, transept, and chapels, scarce a fragment remains. The great western aisle, or nave, from its earliest date, was appropriated as the parish church, for the use of the neighbouring inhabitants; and this probably prevented the entire destruction of the building. In Queen Elizabeth's time the church was made parochial, and called the church of the Holy Cross, which name it still retains. The western part is the most entire. The tower, though plain, is finely proportioned; the entrance a round Norman arch recessed, and a pointed arch inserted within it, undoubtedly of later date. In a niche on each side of the great west window, were formerly statues of St. Peter and St. Paul. Between the bell-windows, within a niche, is a statue, which has been generally supposed to be the founder, Roger de Montgomery; but others, with more probability, conjecture it to be King Edward III. not merely from the costume of the figure, but from the tower having been erected about that period. In this

tower formerly hung the great bell of St. Wenefrede, thus inscribed :

*Sancta Wenefreda, Deo hoc commendare memento,
Ut pietate sua, nos servet ab hoste cruento.*

This bell remained till the year 1673, when it was sold towards defraying the expence of a new peal of eight bells. The interior of the church, though in so mutilated a state, retains a solemn grandeur. On each side of the middle aisle (the ancient nave) are five arches, which separate it from the side aisles. The two which join to the tower are pointed, as are the windows over them. The other arches are semicircular, with immense round pillars, short and plain. Above was a gallery of smaller arches in the same style. Within the second arch from the west end, are vestiges of what is supposed to have been an ancient chantry chapel: there are several niches, but much mutilated, and the statues gone. The church has of late been very judiciously improved and decorated, by the addition of a handsome new organ, placed on an appropriate Gothic screen; and likewise with an east window of stained glass. In the centre compartments are large figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; above are the arms of England, the see of Lichfield, the founder of the abbey, and of Lord Berwick, the patron of the living; on each side are the arms of the vicars, from the year 1500. In the east window of the south aisle are three ancient

shields:—England and France quarterly; Roger de Montgomery; the sword and keys, symbols of the patron saints. In the corresponding window on the north side are the arms of Mortimer, Beauchamp, Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Fitz-Alan quartering Maltravers.

The font near the west entrance is very ancient, and has the appearance of the capital of a large Norman pillar, supported by a part of the shaft. Near the north door is another very elegant font, lately removed from the abbey garden.

The ancient monuments and brasses are all gone, excepting a figure in mail, at the east end of the south aisle, placed there by his Majesty's heralds at arms, at their Visitation of the county in 1622, with the following inscription:—

“ The Figure underneath, which was at first placed within the MONASTERY of ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL, and was afterwards found in the ruins, was removed hither by direction of His Majesty's Heralds at Arms, in their Visitation of this County, 1622, to remain (as it was originally intended) in perpetual memory of ROGER DE MONTGOMERY, EARL OF SHREWSBURY, who was kinsman to the CONQUEROR, and one of his chief Commanders in the victorious battle of Hastings. He erected many useful buildings here, both public and private; and not only fortified this town with walls, but built the Castle on the Isthmus. As also the Castles of LUDLOW and BRIDGNORTH, with the monastery of Wenlock. He founded and endowed in an ample manner this large Benedictine Abbey; and, when advanced in years, by the consent of his Countess ADELAISA, he entered into Holy Orders, and was shorn a Monk of this his own foundation, where he lies interred. He died July 27th, 1094.”

Of the modern monumental memorials, the following seem most worthy of notice:—

On a handsome monument against the east wall of the chancel:

M. S. Richardi Prynce, equitis aurati, necnon suæ conjugis Mariæ, filiæ Gwat. Wrottesly de Wrottesly in agro Stafford. armigeri. Ille optimus maritus, hæc uxor consummatissima: pietatis in Deum, in Regem fidei, in Vicinos benevolentiæ, diu in hac parochiâ inclaru-runt exempla. Iniquissimis temporibus, grassante sanguineâ civilis rabie, rem familiarem illi a majoribus demissam, sed per infortunia Fratris minùs providi penè elapsam, inter aliorum fraudes et rapinas, honestis artibus et laudandâ solertiâ ita redintegavit, et auxit, ut numerosam prolem, natos scilicet duos natasque octo, ipsi superstitēs, ingenuè et piè educavit, dote sat amplâ ditavit. Hisce peractis, bonorum operum semper memor, inopum fautor, pacis custos, justitiæ vindex, legum assertor, animam tandem Deo, corpus terræ reddidit, anno Dom. 1665, ætat. 76. Hæredem reliquit Philippum filium, cum Elizabethâ, filiâ Johannis Banks, equitis aurati, Communium Placitorum Justiciarii Capitalis, et serenissimæ Maj. Car. I. à secretioribus Consilijs, in matrimonio conjunctum; qui cum per plura in Patris vestigiis pr....., et progeniem omnem sublatam deplorâset, a charissimâ consorte, dissolvi et esse cum Christo indies exoptante, aliquandiu sejunctus, obiit an. Dom. 1690. æt. 60."

Arms: Gules, a saltire Or, surmounted of a cross engrailed Ermine.—Crest, out of a ducal coronet Or, a cubit-arm habited Gules, cuffed Ermine, holding in the hand proper three pine-apples of the first, stalked and leaved Vert.

On a neat marble monument, against the east wall:—

“ H. S. E.

Edwardus Baldwin, armiger,
et Comitatus Salopiensis ad pacem Justiciarius.

E generosâ et antiquâ stirpe ortus,
natales virtutibus suis illustriores reddidit. Dotibus ingenij egregijs
ornatus, tum libros, tum homines perspectos habuit, quorum
inter lectissimos
innocuas societatis delicias nemo
benignius exhibuit, aut elegantius degustavit; quippe quædam con-
cinnitas perspicua et erudita
(nec sine decorâ gravitate)
sermonibus inerat,
quæ socios delectavit et detinuit.
Adeo deniq. se omnibus commendavit,
ab omni perturbatione animi
alienus,
judicio perspicax, consilio promptus,
agendo efficax,
ut omnes amicum sibi certatim
arripuerint.
Amplissimis clientelis,
bonorum amicitijs,
opibus non exiguis,
beatus vixit, desideratus obiit
anno ætatis suæ 64, MDCCXXXV.

Soror ejus, Thomæ Powys de Berwick, arm', in agro Salopiensi,
conjux,

grato animo hoc memoriæ charissimi fratris sacrum posuit.”

Arms: Argent, a saltire Sable. — Motto: *Per
Deum meum transilio murum.*

On a plain stone against the South wall:

“ Infrâ

depositæ sunt

reliquiæ Johannis Waters
et Margaritæ thalami consortis,

Illa } obiit { Feb. 17, 1727,
 Ille } { Xbris 27, 1732.

Innocuos ambos, cultores Numinis ambos."

On a monument against the south wall :

M. S.

Heic juxta jacet

Thomas Rock, armig.

vita functus Jan. 3,

anno { ætat. 62,
 { Dom. 1678.

En, Lector,

cinerem non vulgarem,

virum vere magnum ;

si prisca fides, pietasq' primeva,

si amicitiae fœdera strictissima,

si pectus candidum et sincerum,

ac integerrima vita

virum vere magnum conflare poterint.

En hominem cordatum !

calamitose Majestatis,

furente nuperâ Perduellium rabie,

strenuum assertorem,

obstinatum vindicem.

En animæ generosæ quantillum ergastulum.

O charum Deo depositum,

vestrum quam inopes,

vestrum quocunq' boni,

dolorem inconsolabilem,

desiderium in omne ævum irreparabile."

Arms : Or, three chess-rooks, and a chief embattled Sable; impaling, Argent, a lion rampant Sable, a canton of the second.—Crest : On a rock proper a martlet, Or.

On a neat monument against the north wall :

" Sacred to the memory
 of Thomas Jenkins, esq.

and of Gertrude his wife.

This Monument,

erected in obedience to her last will,
and designed by her as a tribute of respect to his
virtues,
remains at the same time
an instance and memorial
of her own."

On a vase at the top of the monument :

" T. J. died 29 Dec. 1730, aged 53.

G. J. died 28 Oct. 1767, aged 84."

Arms . Or, a lion rampant regardant Sable ; impaling, Argent, on a bend Gules, cotised Sable, three pair of wings conjoined and inverted of the first.

Inscriptions on plain stones in the chancel floor :

" This stone is placed in memory of

William Prince, esq.

whose body lies buried here.

He died 20th October, 1703, aged 40.

Here also lies the body of his relict,

M. Frances Prince,

whose singular virtues and extensive charity, justly gained her
universal esteem.

She departed this life

3d Nov. 1721, aged 47 ;

whereby the Poor are deprived of

a most tender friend and liberal

benefactrix.

Also Frances, their only daughter, relict of

Andrew Corbett, of Morton Corbett, esq.

who died Nov. 21, 1760, aged 59."

" Here lie

the remains of

Judith Prince,

of the ancient family of the Princes,
 who died, the last of that name,
 August the 17th, 1733."

"Here lyes

Fr. Gibbons, D.D. chaplain to K. Charles,
 and minister of this parish,
 who died 7th Jan. 1639 ;
 also his youngest son James Gibbons, esq.
 who faithfully served Three Kings in a
 Civil employment;
 and died 21st Nov. 1712."

"Depositæ sunt in hoc tumulo
 exuvia Annæ Pearson,
 quæ fide Christi religiosè vixit ;
 et spe beatæ resurrectionis
 animam piè et lætè efflavit
 die nono Junij 1721."

M. S.

Samuelis Pearson, A. M.

hujus ecclesiæ

per 51 annos Pastoris,

qui obiit

16 die Novembris

anno { Salutis 1727.

{ Ætatis suæ 80.

Resurgam."

On a neat marble tablet :

"Sacred to the memory

of Nathaniel Betton,

Who died Nov. 29th, 1800, aged 61 years.

Also of John Betton (son of the above)

Captain in his Majesty's 3d Dragoon Guards,

who died Nov. 20th, 1809,

at Merida in Spain, aged 31 years."

These are the principal memorials in this sacred
 mansion of the dead. The elegant stone pulpit in

the Abbey Garden, with the scattered fragments of different parts of this once noble Abbey, deserve the attention of the curious.

WOODCROFT HOUSE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

DR. MICHAEL HUDSON, in this house bravely fell defending himself against the Parliament forces, in 1648.

In the parish of Etton, in the hundred of Nassaburgh, Northampton, is Woodcroft-house an old manor-place, and, from the remains of antiquity, apparently in former times a place of strength. It is surrounded by a large water, excepting on the western side, where the drawbridge is supposed to have been. The doors of the long passages through the gateway, with two large arches and seats of stone, and stone windows, and staircases within the house, and a round bastion towards the north end, are of remarkable and antient workmanship. Over the porch or gateway is a chamber, formerly the chapel : in the wall is a bason for holy water, a long stone seat, and a large window, now in part filled up, and made into a smaller. The walls are about four feet thick.

In the reign of Henry III., Herbert and Roger de Woodcrofte held of the Abbot of Burgh half a knight's fee in Walton and Woodcrofte, which was confirmed to the Convent by a charter in the same

reign, and in the subsequent reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.*

In 1648 Woodcroft-house was made a garrison by the Royalists, who took up arms for Charles I. under the command of the Rev. Dr. Michael Hudson†. After the battle of Edgehill, Mr. Hudson, retiring to Oxford, was in 1642, created Doctor in Divinity, and appointed Chaplain to the King. From thence he attended him, with Mr. Ashburnham, in 1646, when he put himself into the hands of the Scots; and the Parliament sending a Sergeant at Arms to bring Hudson to London, he eluded the vigilance of the messenger; but was soon after discovered and apprehended at Rochester, and committed prisoner to London-house. Having made his escape from his confinement, he was in a short time retaken, and sent from Hull to the tower. Here he wrote "The Divine Right of Government, natural and politic, more particularly of Monarchy," &c., which was printed in 4to. 1647. Making his escape also in the beginning of 1648, he went into Lincolnshire, raised a party of horse, and, to secure himself against the Parliament troops, retired with his men to Woodcroft-house. The Rebels on the 6th of June entering the house, and taking many prisoners, Hudson, with the most

* Bridges's Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 511.

† Dr. Hudson was Rector of Uffington, and was joined in his expedition against the rebels by the Rev. Mr. Styles, who was Warden of Brown's Hospital in Stamford, and Minister of Croyland.

courageous of his soldiers, went up to the battlements, and defended themselves a considerable time ; but yielded upon a promise of quarter, which was not observed ; and the rebels advancing to them, Hudson was thrown over the battlements, and caught hold of a spout or projecting stone ; but his hands being cut off, he fell into the moat much wounded ; and desiring to come to land to die, was knocked on the head* by the butt-end of a musket. His tongue was then cut out by a low-bred shop-keeper of Stamford†, who carried it about the country as a trophy. Being there buried after the enemy had left the place, his body is said to have been removed to the neighbouring parish of Uffington, near Stamford, where it was solemnly interred.

In the examination of John Browne of St. Ives, Hunts, taken May 18, 1646, he deposed that he met with Dr. Hudson at Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire, being the last of April, where they lodged all night. Mr. Peek conceives that Dr. Hudson had relations at Melton ; one Sir Henry Hudson, Bart., who, he supposed, entertained him. This Sir H. H. owned, and lived in the house where Mr. Simon Stokes, the Attorney, now lives (1734) ; and here supposed Dr. Hudson and his servant Browne lodged.‡

* By one Egborough, the Minister of Castor's servant.

† John Walker, a Grocer.

‡ *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. ix.

DESCRIPTION OF ROUEN CATHEDRAL.

From Mrs. Stothard's Tour in Normandy.*

"THE cathedral church, said to be erected by the English, of all the Gothic structures I have yet seen is the most costly and magnificent; the building, of the florid Gothic kind, is literally frosted with ornaments. This cathedral was founded A. D. 990, by Robert, archbishop of Rouen, brother of Richard the Second, Duke of Normandy; but it was not finished till the year 1062, when, in the presence of William the Conqueror, it was dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Of this, the original building, nothing now appears: the most ancient parts are the door-ways, which, together with a great portion of the edifice, is the work of the thirteenth century; the rest of the building is of the fifteenth. The cathedral is 410 feet in length, 83 in breadth,

* Our readers are doubtless aware, that this, perhaps the finest piece of Gothic architecture in Europe, was struck by lightning about 5 o'clock in the morning of Sunday, September 15, 1822, and continued burning till evening, when the fire seemed to be subdued, but unfortunately broke out again on the Monday, when the dome fell, and the whole burst forth in such a tremendous blaze as to defy all resistance. Some idea sustained by the French in the loss of this magnificent building may be conceived by the above description of it.

† It is very extraordinary that Mr. Dibdin, in his tour on the Continent, speaking of the south-west tower of this Cathedral, says, "Considering that this spire is very lofty, and composed of wood, it is surprising that it has not been destroyed by tempest, or accident from lightning."

the length of the cross-aisles is 164 feet, and the height of the spire 395 feet ; that of the towers towards the west 236 feet ; the width of the portal at the west-end, including the towers, is 170 feet ; there are seven entrances to the cathedral, and 130 windows. Immediately over the large door-way at the western entrance, carved in stone, the root of Jesse is represented, from whose several branches arise figures, terminating in the centre with one of our Saviour, as the last of the line. Above and around this subject, in several compartments, appear various histories from the bible, carved likewise in stone. Above another door-way in the west front, the story of the daughter of Hérodias dancing before Herod, is represented in a most singular manner. She appears like one of those dancers or tumblers, who were employed for the amusement of courts in the thirteenth century, and is literally tumbling before Herod with her head on the ground, and her heels in the air. This seems to us a strange mode of treating such a subject ; but it was by no means uncommon at the time this was executed. On the same front are ranged above eighty figures of a colossal size, representing saints and apostles : these images, although considerably larger than life, appear but diminutive, in comparison with the majestic proportions of the building. Besides this host of carved figures, the most fantastic, elegant, and rich Gothic devices every where abound. There is not the smallest piece of

stone, not the back of a niche, nor the base of a figure, but is covered with the finest Gothic work. Above the north door-way the subject of the last judgment is admirably carved; and on each side the walls, without the entrance, stand two female figures, their heads broken off, but their draperies are of tasteful and exquisite workmanship. Some part of the building has been injured during the revolution; when it is likely these figures also suffered. The south front is extremely elegant in its proportions and ornaments.

“The interior of the cathedral is so imposingly beautiful, that on entering the aisles, the mind is struck with an involuntary awe; the sombre light reflected through the painted windows, the majestically fretted roof, the high vaulted arches, all combine to strike the beholder with that feeling of veneration, and to inspire that disposition towards serious contemplation, which does indeed so well prepare the mind for devotional exercise. We are naturally susceptible of powerful impressions from external things, and our feelings are capable of being softened, exalted, and refined by the contemplation of majestic and imposing objects. There was undoubtedly great wisdom in the erection of such buildings for religious purposes; for who can enter them without feeling they are most proper to be devoted to the worship of a Divine Being. Every window in the cathedral is filled with fine painted glass. The subjects consist of several

groups and figures, the size of life ; some are of various and fantastic ornaments, whose brilliant hues are so gorgeous and dazzling, that, although the variety of their devices are endless, yet their luminous brilliancy forbids the eye long to rest upon one object.

“ In the choir we saw the spot where once were placed the tombs of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; Henry, brother of Richard I.; and Cœur-de-Lion’s heart. A flat stone now alone marks each spot ; the monuments, with the effigies of Henry and Richard having been destroyed for some comparatively trivial purpose, a considerable time before the revolution, A. D. 1199, the heart of Richard I. enclosed in a silver box, was interred near the high altar of Rouen cathedral, according to that prince’s injunctions before his decease. A magnificent tomb was erected to the memory of Richard: his effigy lay extended upon it, and represented him attired in his royal robes. A balustrade of silver once encompassed the monument ; but in 1250, the dean and chapter of Rouen ordered that it should be melted down, and applied as a contribution towards the ransom of the famous St. Louis, then a prisoner amongst the Pagans. Henry the younger, second son of Henry II. king of England, who was crowned both at Westminster and Winchester, during the lifetime of his father, was buried, first in the church of St. Julien, at Mans, near his grandfather Geoffrey Plantagenet, but his body

was afterwards removed to this cathedral, by the solicitation of the citizens of Rouen, to whom Henry had bequeathed it. Between two pillars on the north side of the choir, under a monument of black marble, were interred the remains of John, duke of Lancaster, third son of Henry IV. king of England; this tomb was destroyed by the Hugonots 1562. Here also was buried, A. D. 1164, William, third son of the Empress Maud by her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet. The heart of Charles V. who died at the castle of Vincennes, in 1380, was brought to Rouen, and buried with great pomp in the cathedral: his tomb was on the south side of the chapel of the Virgin. In the chapel of St. Romain lie the remains of the celebrated Rollo, third duke of Normandy; they were removed from near the high altar, when the choir was rebuilt. On the tomb of Rollo there is an effigy representing him, but it is not a work of his time,—probably not earlier than that of St. Louis. In this cathedral, there is also a monument and effigy of William Longespee, fourth duke of Normandy, and son of Rollo; this tomb is of the same date as the former. St. Romain was archbishop of Rouen, and died in 644: his body was removed in 1036, and in 1090 it was placed within a splendid shrine, which was burnt by the Hugonots in 1562. Some fragments of the saint's body being then preserved, they were kept as relics at this cathedral. In the chapel of the Virgin, there is a most beautiful tomb in me-

mory of the cardinals D'Amboise : two figures of the cardinals, the uncle and nephew, are carved in white marble, the size of life ; they are represented in a kneeling posture, the hands raised in prayer ; beneath these figures appear Charity, Truth, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance. Behind the cardinals, in various compartments, are rich carvings, intermixed with saints, &c. ; this tomb was erected in 1522. In the same chapel, on the opposite side, is the monument of Louis de Brezé : it is of the Corinthian order, admirably carved in white marble ; the figures are of the natural size. Above, Louis de Brezé is represented on horseback, in armour ; beneath lies his effigy extended upon a coffin ; the limbs are executed with all that lifeless expression, and ghastly appearance, that renders death indeed the king of terrors. At his head kneels his wife attired in a widow's habit ; a female figure holding a child in her arms, stands at the feet. This noble monument of Louis de Brezé, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, was erected to his memory by his widow, Diana of Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, in 1531. In the epitaph, she promises, as having been faithful to his bed, so likewise faithfully to share his tomb ; but, as Diana became afterwards the mistress of Henry the Second of France, it is not improbable, that the lady forgot her promise, for she was buried elsewhere.

“ In this cathedral there is a Gothic stair-case of

great beauty, which leads to the library belonging to the church. The building of the fine tower called *La Tour de Beurre*, was commenced in 1485, with the money paid by the people of Rouen, for an indulgence purchased by them, to eat butter instead of oil, during the solemn fast of Lent."

Accounts from Ghent state, that the fine ancient cathedral in that town, was on the 11th inst. much damaged by fire. Fortunately the most precious *morceaux*, among others the Apocalypse of John Van Eyck, the Children which ornament the altar, &c., have been saved. The friends of the arts were so zealous in their exertions, that only the building has suffered.

CONDUCT AND EXECUTION OF THE UNFORTUNATE DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

The following extract, from a letter written by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Bishop Fell*, gives a very exact account of the last conduct of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth. It is dated July 16, 1685, the very day after his execution.

..... "I told your Lordship, in my last, the Bishop of Ely was appointed by his Majesty to attend the Duke of Monmouth, and to prepare him to die the next day. The Duke wrote to his Majesty, representing how usefull he might and would

* Aubry's Lives of Eminent Men, vol. i. p. 27.

be, if his Majesty would be pleased to grant him his life. But, if it might not be, he desired a longer time, and to have another Divine to assist him, Dr. Tenison, or whom else the King should appoint. The King sent him the Bishop of Bath and Wells to attend, and to tell him he must die the next morning. The two Bishops sate up in his chamber all night, and watcht whilst he slept. In the morning, by his Majesty's orders, the Lords Privy Seale and Dartmouth brought him also Dr. Tenison and Dr. Hooper. All these were with him till he died.

“ They got him to owne the King's title to the Crown, and to declare in writing that the last King told him he was never married to his Mother, and by word of mouth to acknowledge his invasion was sin; but could never get him to confess it was a rebellion. They got him to owne that he and Lady Harriot Wentworth had lived in all points like man and wife; but they could not make him confess it was adultery. He acknowledged, that he and his Duchess were married by the law of the land, and therefore his children might inherit, if the King pleased. But he did not consider what he did when he married her. He confest that he had lived many years in all sorts of debauchery, but said he had repented of it, askt pardon, and doubted not that God had forgiven him. He said, that since that time he had an affection for Lady

Harriot, and prayed that if it were pleasing to God, it might continue, otherwise that it might cease; and God heard his prayer. The affection did continue, and therefore he doubted not it was pleasing to God; and that this was a marriage, their choice of one another being guided not by lust, but by judgment, upon due consideration. They endeavoured to shew him the falsehood and mischievousness of this enthusiasticall principle. But he told them it was his opinion, and he was fully satisfied in it. After all, he desired them to give him the communion next morning. They told him they could not do it, while he was in that error and sin. He said he was sorry for it.

“The next morning, he told them, he had prayed that if he was in an error, in that matter, God would convince him of it; but God had not convinced him; and therefore he believed it was no error.

“When he was upon the scaffold, he profest himself a Protestant of the Church of England. They told him, he could not be so, if he did not owne the doctrine of the Church of England in the point of non-resistance, and if he persisted in that enthusiastic persuasion. He said, he could not help it, but yet he approved the doctrine of the Church in all other things. He then spoke to the people, in vindication of the Lady Harriot, saying she was a woman of great honour and virtue, a re-

ligious godly lady (these were his words.) They told him of his living in adultery with her. He said, No: for these two yeers last past he had not lived in any sin that he knew of; and that he had never wronged any person; and that he was sure, when he died, to go to God, and therefore he did not fear death, which (he said) they might see in his face. Then they prayd for him, and he kneeld down and joind with them. After all, they had a short prayer for the King, at which he paused, but at last said Amen. He spoke to the Headsman to see he did his business well, and not use him as he did the Lord Russell, to give him 2 or 3 strokes; for if he did, he should not be able to lie still without turning. Then he gave the Executioner 6 ginnies, and 4 to one Marshall, a servant of Sir T. Armstrong's, that attended him with the King's leave: desiring Marshall to give them the Executioner if he did his work well, and not otherwise. He gave this Marshall overnight his ring and watch; and now he gave him his case of pickteeth; all for Lady Harriot. Then he laid himself down; and upon the signe given, the Headsman gave a light stroke, at which he lookt him in the face; then he laid him down again, and the Headsman gave him 2 strokes more, and then layd down the ax, saying he could not finish his work, till being threatened by the Sheriff and others then present, he took up the ax again, and at 2 strokes more cut off his head.

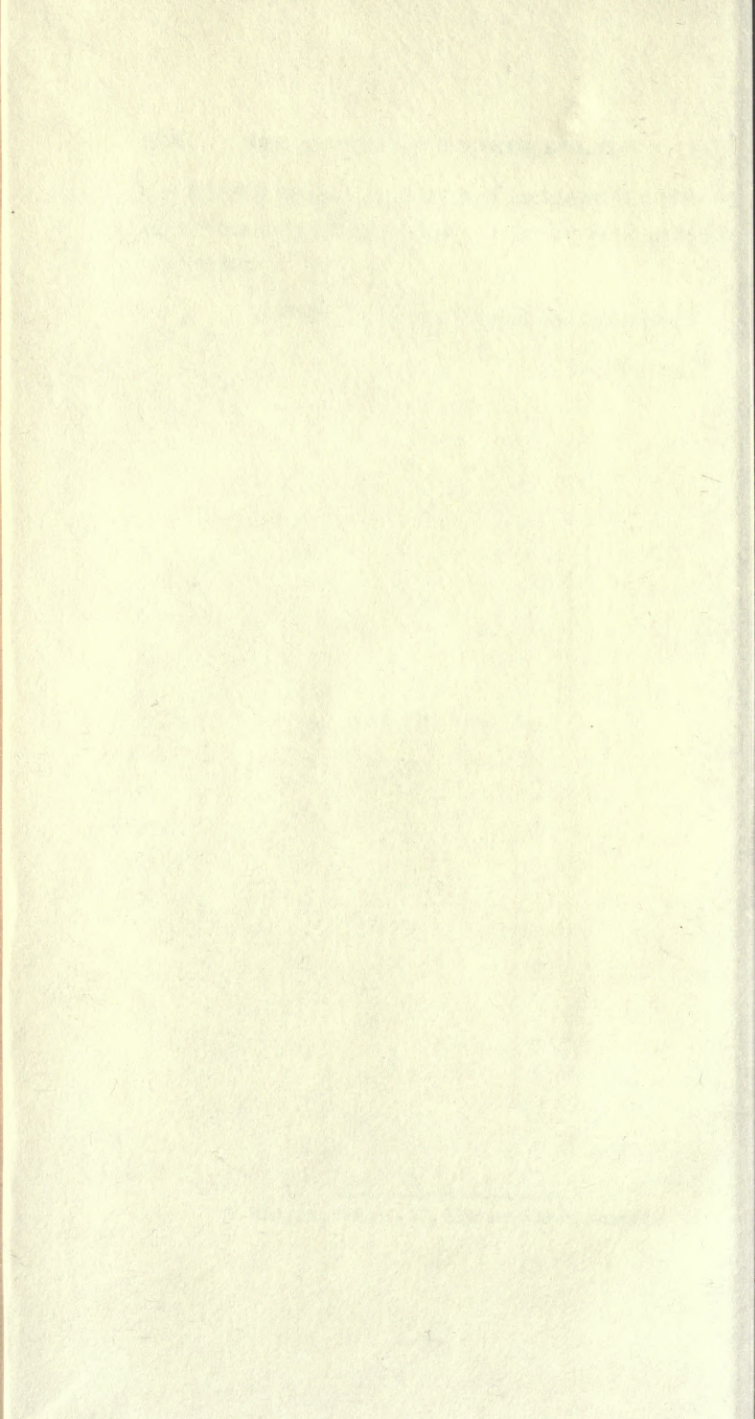
"All this true as to matter of fact, and it needs no comment to your Lordship. I desire your prayers, and remain,

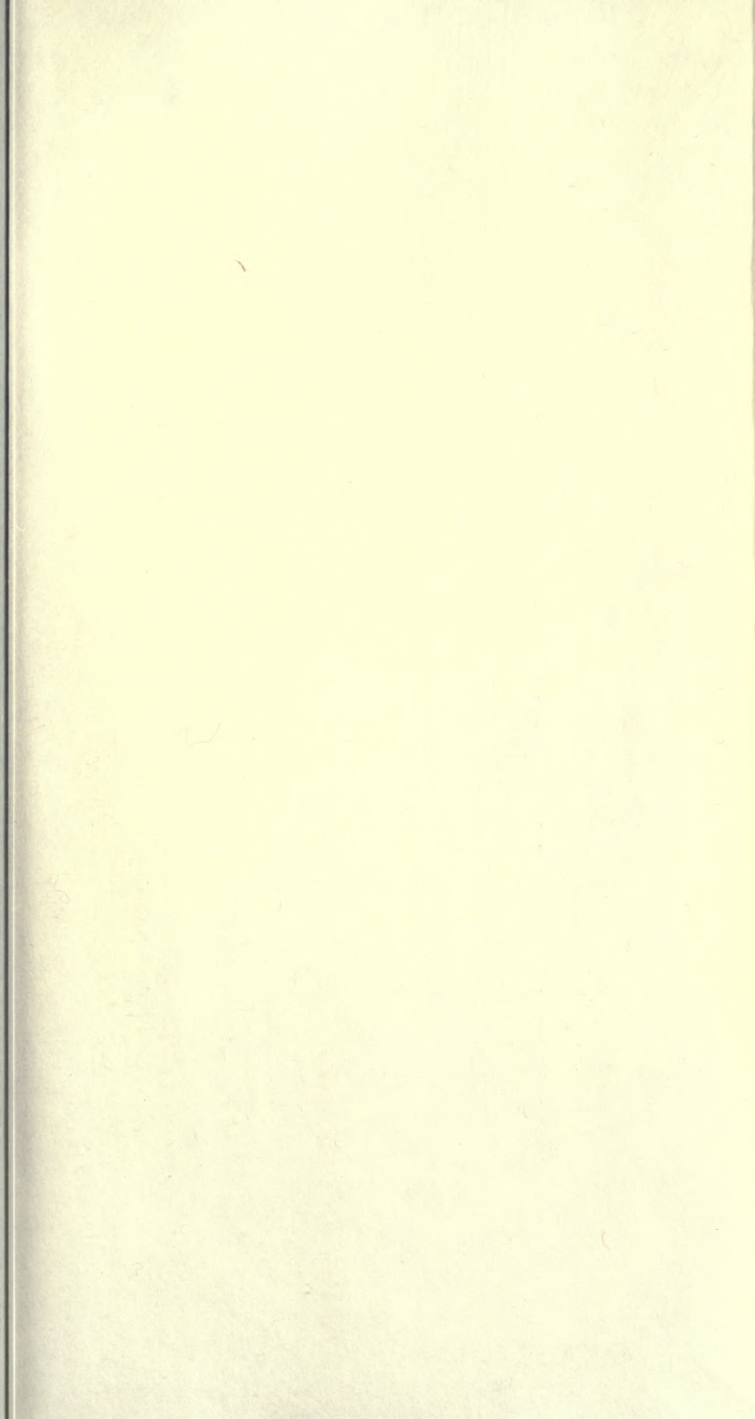
"Your Lordship's most affectionate,

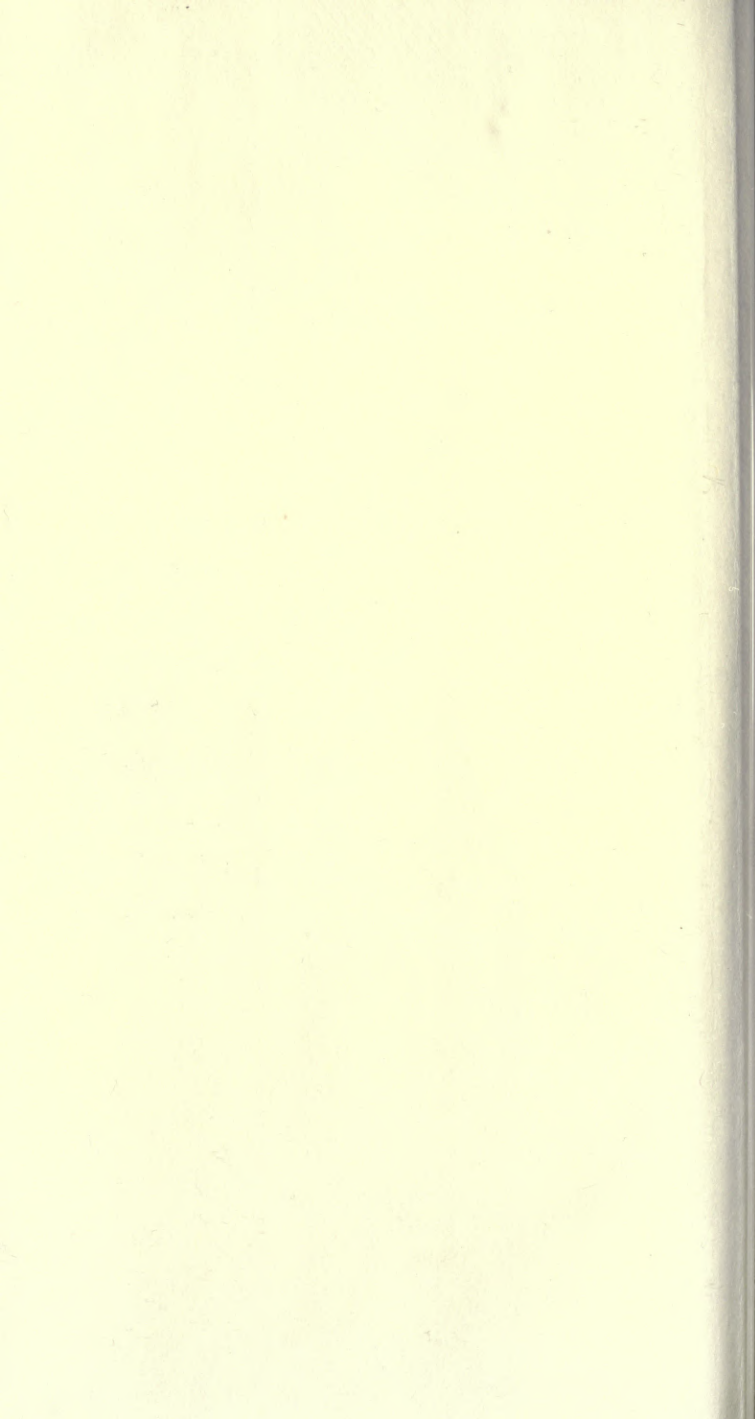
"W. ASAPH."

END OF VOL. I.









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